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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 342



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# CHINA REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### U.S. ANTI-NUCLEAR MOVEMENT ANALYZED

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 11, 1982 pp 2-3

[Article by Wang Baoqin [3769 0202 0530]: "Nuclear Dispute and Anti-nuclear Movement in the United States"]

[Text] Since the beginning of this year an anti-nuclear movement which opposes nuclear weapons and nuclear war is developing rapidly in the United States. At the same time, the long-term debate on nuclear policy (in effect, on the policy towards the Soviet Union) within the ruling group is also becoming more heated. The popular anti-nuclear movement and the debate within the ruling group, drawing support from each other, have become a considerable force. It is considered by public opinion that this movement bears a similarity to the anti-war movement in the late sixties and early seventies. The question of nuclear policy begins to be discussed beyond a small circle of specialists and government officials and becomes a widely discussed topic which deeply concerns ordinary people. Therefore, this movement undoubtedly has considerable influence on the U.S. government and on the Reagan administration's foreign policy. Recently Reagan has repeatedly expressed the willingness to hold talks with the Soviet leaders on strategic weapons reduction, which is inseparable from the pressure exerted by the anti-nuclear movement.

#### Major Content

At present, the American anti-nuclear movement is spurred by two major arguments:

(1) The proposal that the United States and the Soviet Union should instantly "freeze" (stop testing, production and deployment of) nuclear arms before negotiation of nuclear arms reduction. It was made by liberal Democrat Senator Kennedy and moderate Republican Hatfield and liberal Congressman Macky in the Senate and in the House of Representatives respectively. They consider that the present nuclear capability of the United States and the Soviet Union is "largely equal," freezing at the present level is "fair" for both sides and the United States will not suffer any loss. Only after "freezing" all nuclear weapons and stopping the nuclear race, could "gradual deceleration" of the race and negotiation of gradual reduction of nuclear

arms be possible. Thus in the next 5 years, the United States could save up to US\$ 100 billion in military spending, which can be used for solving social and economic problems.

(II) The proposal that the United States should renounce first use of nuclear arms. It was made by a group of former high-ranking government officials such as Bundy (special assistant to the president in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations), McNamara (secretary of defense in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations), Kennan (former ambassador to the Soviet Union) and Smith (chief of the U.S. delegation to the Strategic Arms Limitations Talks) in the spring issue of FOREIGN AFFAIRS. This proposal elicited strong reaction from American political circles as well as from public opinion, and was also opposed by a number of leaders in European countries. Bundy's group maintains that it is difficult to put a limit on the nuclear arms once they are used, and the resultant nuclear war will destroy mankind. Europeans are particularly worried that Europe will become the nuclear battlefield for the superpowers. The U.S. renunciation of "first use" of nuclear arms will effectively contribute to the unity of the Western alliance and make Western Europe strengthen conventional forces and make a successful step towards overall control of nuclear arms. They even believe that the Soviet Union since World War II has never intended to attack Western Europe; thus it is not necessary for the United States to use nuclear deterrent to protect Western Europe.

#### Scale of the Movement

It is reported that the anti-nuclear movement in the United States has gained considerable social basis. In the Congress, there are 195 (24 in the Senate and 171 in the House of Representatives) supporting the Kennedy-Hatfield "freeze resolution." Geographically it is all over the country, with the greatest strength in the northeast (especially in New England) where 4 state congresses, 33 municipal councils and some 300 town councils have passed the "resolution on freezing nuclear arms." Similar resolutions were passed in three states in the midwest and one in the west. In addition, a million people have signed petitions to support the above resolution in California, New Jersey, Delaware and Michigan to put it on the ballot in November. The supporters encompass all social classes including housewives, businessmen, office workers, doctors, teachers, legal professionals, etc. NEWSWEEK reports that 68 percent of the population supports this movement. Religious groups rank among the most active supporters. Close to 100 Catholic bishops (among 360 bishops in the country), some 20 religious organizations and a large number of priests and nuns have become "vanguards" of the movement. Closely following the lead are scientists in such groups as the "Association of Scientists Concerned with Human Welfare" which has sent speakers to 150 universities expounding on the danger of nuclear arms. Among civic groups, close to 80 new and old organizations actively participate in the movement. The newly formed "Explosive Projection" started a propaganda week from 18 April, emphasizing the destructiveness of nuclear war on mankind. About 1 million people in 600 cities and towns take part in the activities of that organization. Moreover, these organizations have established connection with European anti-nuclear groups in a "temporary alliance" for mutual support. Among the partisans [supporting the movement] are the liberals, conservatives

and moderates in both parties, with liberal Democrats taking the lead. In particular, those democrats who have the 1984 presidential election in mind are "rapidly walking in the front rank of the movement" to maneuver the Republicans "out of office." Their various proposals are more political tools than different tactics in the nuclear race. The abovementioned organization and active members of the movement, in a plan to push the movement to its climax during the United Nations Conference on nuclear arms reduction, will organize a mass demonstration involving 1.5 million people in the style of their European counterparts. Some 200,000 from civic organizations in 30 states will meet in New York to join delegates of Western European and Japanese anti-nuclear groups.

#### Soviet Attitude

Taking advantage of the anti-nuclear movement in the United States, the Soviet Union has expressed its "total endorsement" and calls it "a sacred struggle for the greatest right" and "the only way to eliminate war threat and for peaceful coexistence on earth." In particular, they praised the "freeze resolution" made by Kennedy and Hatfield. Public opinion in the West regards Brezhnev's proposal on 16 March to freeze the deployment of midrange missiles in Europe as a "skillful propaganda" "fanning the fire" of the anti-nuclear movement which is gathering momentum. Reportedly, since March last year, Soviet embassy staff have attended the "National Strategic Conference" promoting the freeze on nuclear weapons held by some American organizations and individuals. According to an American weekly magazine U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, the U.S. branch of the World Peace Council which is under the control of the Soviet Union, is one of the most ardent anti-nuclear movement, "mobilizing for survival" organization in the United States.

#### Reagan's Policy

The Reagan administration, concerned that this movement will develop to "the scale of the antiVietnam war movement" and "undermine his plan for military build-up" is adopting a series of measures to check the development of this movement.

(1) From President Reagan, Secretary of State Haig, Secretary of Defense Weinberger to some 10 ranking government officials have taken turns to refute the points made by Kennedy, Bundy, et. al. The U.S. State Department even published a pamphlet entitled "Freezing Nuclear Arms," reiterating U.S. government principles on controlling nuclear arms and pointing out the shortcomings of "freezing nuclear arms." In sum, the arguments advanced by the U.S. government are (1) The Soviet Union at present has a definite "margin of nuclear superiority," a freeze on nuclear forces will perpetuate Soviet superiority over nuclear arms and put the United States and its allies on a disadvantageous and indefensible position, meanwhile jeopardizing the U.S. position for negotiation with the Soviet Union. Moreover, a freeze will cause NATO allies to doubt American leadership. As to cutting the national defense budget by reducing nuclear armament, it is even more impractical. Because the nuclear budget is only 7 percent of the total defense budget, perhaps amounts to 15 percent if indirect expenses are included.

(2) Because the ground forces in NATO are inferior to those of the Warsaw Pact, if a no-first-use policy is adopted by the United States, the West will be exposed to the attack of conventional Soviet troops. This is what the Soviet Union has always wanted, but was resisted by the NATO countries.

(II) It supports and joins the anti-Soviet hardliners to counterattack Kennedy, et. al. Reportedly, after the Kennedy-Hatfield resolution of "nuclear freeze" was made public on 10 March, the White House assisted famous anti-Soviet hardliners Senator Jackson and Senator Warner in drafting a resolution of "talk first, freeze later" which was introduced in the Senate on 23 March. Later, on 29 March, 13 congressmen made a similar resolution in the House. Therefore, the moderates and the hardliners sharply confront each other in the Senate and in the House in a heated debate "comparable to the debate on the Vietnam War in 1969." Reagan publicly "praised" Jackson-Warner, Carney, et. al. Up to now, among 100 senators, 6 [sic] including Republican leader Baker and Democrat leader Budd, support the Jackson-Warner resolution, greatly exceeding the support for the Kennedy-Hatfield resolution. Among the 435 congressmen, 103 have shown support for the Jackson-Warner resolutions still falling behind the number of people supporting the Kennedy-Hatfield resolution.

(III) Reagan agreed to hold talks with the Soviet Union on strategic nuclear arms, so as to diminish the frontal attack by the anti-nuclear movement. Before March this year, the Reagan administration had been unwilling to set the date for nuclear negotiation and meeting with Soviet leaders, emphasizing that negotiation must be "linked" with the Afghan and the Polish questions so as to avoid "sending wrong signals to the Soviet Union." As a result, the American public thinks that Reagan was unwilling to take up arms reduction and turn it into an important cause for the emerging peace movement. Western European countries also actively urge the United States to set up a date for negotiation. Under these circumstances, Reagan at an evening press conference on 31 March announced his readiness to hold talks with the Soviet Union on nuclear weapons this summer, and suggested that Brezhnev attend the United Nations conference on arms reduction in June. On 9 May, Reagan reiterated his hope to meet Brezhnev to discuss nuclear arms reduction.

#### Future Trend

It seems that the American anti-nuclear movement will keep on developing and continue to be entangled with Reagan's foreign policy (especially his policy towards the Soviet Union). Because of the difficulty in the American economy and the high unemployment rate (in April this year, the unemployment rate was 9.4 percent; more than 10 million people were unemployed), many people want to cut out the defense budget and to increase social welfare spending. Democrats, availing themselves of the opportunity to attack Reagan's domestic and foreign policies, intend to win mass support and score a victory in this year's mid-term election and the 1984 general election. The arms expansion in the United States and the Soviet Union and the persistent tension between the two countries will increase American concern of nuclear war; the peace movement in Western Europe and the Soviet peace offensive will also exert a certain influence on the United States.

However, it is generally believed that the peace movement in the United States is unlikely to develop to a scale similar to its European counterpart, and it is also unlikely to have a similar impact on government policies. Restraining factors are: 1) The Reagan administration has adopted a firm attitude on checking the development of the movement, with no intention to make radical change or adjustment of its foreign policy. 2) Due to regional variations, the movement has developed unevenly and has encountered considerable resistance. The present movement draws its greatest support from the northeast, the heartland of domestic light industries and enterprises, represented by liberal Democrats who maintain a moderate approach to the Soviets. Whereas in the south and the west (especially in the south), which are the key areas for American military bases and missile industries, conservative hardliners who advocate a tough stance towards the Soviet Union are in a dominant position. It is more difficult to mobilize or organize a large-scale anti-nuclear movement in those states which derive employment opportunities and other economic benefits from defense contracts. Recently in the west, the Arizona state congress passed a resolution urging the Congress and Reagan to adopt a policy of "seeking peace with strength." (3) Most important of all, some of the initiators of the anti-nuclear movement, such as Senator Kennedy, Congressman Macky, etc. do not agree with the proposal of "unilateral disarmament" made by European anti-nuclear groups (that is, even if the Soviet Union does not withdraw the SS-20 missiles, the United States will not deploy new-type missiles). Kennedy also opposes the proposal of no-first-use of nuclear weapons in Europe and the ratification of the second stage of the SALT treaty, which is deemed unfavorable to the United States. European anti-nuclear groups admit that the greatest obstacle to the movement is the unwillingness of the United States to engage in unilateral disarmament. Recently the public opinion poll of NEWSWEEK indicates that the majority of participants in the anti-nuclear movement, while supporting "freeze," insist that any "freeze" must be verifiable to ensure that the United States will not find itself in an inferior position. 4) The hardliners in the United States are in a stronger position; with the support of the Reagan administration, they are engaging in a fierce struggle with the moderates, and have already gained the upper hand in the Senate.

9507

CSO: 4005/1085



### PARTY AND STAFF

## NEED FOR PARTY RENEWAL: L. G. J. VAN DER WERF, 2005, 255-260

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBA 2001 (1999) 111-121 of 1, 3

[Commentator's Article: "The [sic] ... Understanding, Carefully Attend to the Consolidation of ..."]

[Foot] Since last year, especially last spring, some prefectural, municipal and county party committees have begun to consolidate the basic-level party organizations in a planned and systematic way, in close coordination with the party's central mass line. Some of them coordinated the consolidation with the struggle against the "three evils" for all the improvement of the system of responsibility, and others with the fight against corruption; and still others with the all-round reconstruction of the economy. All basic-level party organizations that are now being consolidated are to improve politically, ideologically and organizationally, and to concentrate toward the party's three important work areas. As a result, the party's mass work has recently increased.

In the province, the overall progress and development in this work is still very uneven. In some localities, the work has not received due attention. Here, the action to strengthen and consolidate basic-level party organizations has not been organized. Many other units have failed to consolidate or strengthen basic-level party organizations since the 11th National Congress. In small enterprises, there are those who have established party organizations, but they are in a state of semi-paralysis, or even complete break-down in the case of those without organizations, and yet doing nothing about it. The main reason for this situation is that in some localities, the party committees or the mass organizations under the party committees fail to recognize the importance and urgency of consolidating basic-level party organizations, and there is no principle of "strengthening the controlling party." Therefore, in carefully attending to the work on members of basic-level party organizations, we must especially strengthen efforts to enlighten responsible comrades to have a better understanding of this matter.

Some comrades may think that the party is engaged with the central tasks; how can we spare time and resources for basic-level party organizations. Thus, the central tasks and the basic-level party organizations are set against each other. This is a completely wrong view. We all know that the party's central tasks are abundant and that the party committees at various levels are quite busy. However, we need their support for most of what we have to rely on in accomplishing the party's central tasks. Can we manage without the many basic-level party organizations, which are the party's fighting fortresses and the broad masses of party members which are the vanguard and models? It is hard

to imagine how the party's correct lines, principles and policies can be smoothly carried out in a locality where the basic-level party organizations have very many problems, or in a unit whose party branch is in a state of paralysis, semi-paralysis, or even complete break-down. And how can the party's central tasks be smoothly accomplished under these circumstances? There is no doubt that if the party's central tasks have to be successfully completed, the consolidation of basic-level party organizations must be carefully attended to. Suixi County Party Committee understands this situation and that is why it promptly made the decision "to streamline the party branch along with the systems of responsibility among the households." Since last year, it has divided its members into separate groups to carry out consolidation of basic-level party organizations at regular periods. The consolidation has enabled the basic-level organizations in the countryside to truly play their roles as fighting fortresses, and encouraged the party members to play their roles as vanguard and models, thus guaranteeing the implementation of various rural policies of the party and bringing about a gratifying change in the whole county. Suixi County Party Committee's experiences in coordinating the consolidation of basic-level party organizations with the party's central tasks and then using the consolidation to promote the central tasks deserve to be used for our future reference.

Some comrades, although well knowing that some basic-level party organizations in their own localities or on their own fronts have a lot of problems, are taking an evasive attitude. This is a very poor mental state. The 10 years of domestic turmoil brought serious impurity to the basic-level party organizations in ideology, organization and work style. After the adoption of special policies and flexible measures in our province, ideological and political work failed to keep pace with the developments, and the rules and regulations left loopholes. Thus the capitalist ideology has corroded some party organizations and party members. It is a good thing that our comrades are aware of this situation. However, being aware of the seriousness of a problem and doing nothing about it cannot be the proper attitude to be taken by a communist party member or a party worker. Since the CCP is the vanguard of the proletariat, how can we simply watch the corrosion of the party by the decadent capitalist ideology and the remnant feudal ideology and yet do nothing about it? Practice in the experiments of consolidation in many localities has shown that basic-level party organizations even with many serious problems can be consolidated provided the party committees pay due attention to them and have the determination to organize the forces for their consolidation. Evasion cannot solve problems, and retreat in the face of difficulties is even worse.

There are also some comrades who, at the very mention of consolidation, would worry about dampening the enthusiasm of the broad masses of basic-level cadres. Therefore, they dare not undertake the work of consolidation in a forthright manner. This shows the lack of understanding on the part of these comrades of the principles involved and the methods to be used in consolidating basic-level party organizations. The Party Central Committee and the provincial party committee have clearly stated that in consolidating the basic-level party organizations this time, we should mainly stress ideological consolidation through education, although some organizational consolidation has also to be carried out. This clearly tells us that aside from a small number of impure organizations and serious violations of law and discipline, the problem with the majority of basic-level party organizations and party members is the need for them to enhance



their awareness and to distinguish between right and wrong. Therefore, as long as we can draw our lessons from the exaggerated class struggle in the past and strictly follow the correct principles and methods prescribed by the party Central Committee and the provincial party committee, in carrying out the consolidation, we will, far from dampening the enthusiasm of the party's basic-level cadres, greatly help to raise their consciousness, arouse their revolutionary spirit and enthusiasm, and carry forward the party's fine work style so that they will devote their efforts to the four modernizations.

We often say "party controls party." Building and consolidating the basic-level party organizations form an important aspect of the party's control of the party. Party committees at all levels should further enhance their understanding, provide more active leadership, have a keen sense of responsibility, and actively undertake the consolidating the basic-level party organizations in the urban and rural areas in order to greet the opening of the 12th National Party Congress with actual deeds.

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CSO: 4005/1165

## PARTY AND STATE

### RELATIONSHIP OF PARTY POLICIES, PARTY STYLE DESCRIBED

Guangzhou GUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 8 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by Guang Yu [0342 1342]: "Policy and Style"]

[Text] Recently, the Party Central Committee pointed out the need to educate people, particularly party members, cadres and young and middle-age people, in communist ideals and ethics, so that people of all nationalities throughout the country--male and female, old and young, party members and nonparty members--will all become law-abiding citizens with ideals, ethics and culture. This is an important task in striving for spiritual civilization as well as the central link in the "four stresses and five points of beauty" campaign now being unfolded. However, some of our comrades have set the implementation of socialist policies against the strengthening of education in communist ideals and ethics. For example, as they think stress on policies is irreconcilable with the stress on style; and if we firmly adhere to the principle "to each according to his work," then we cannot encourage people to work selflessly and regardless of remunerations. This viewpoint is obviously one-sided and incorrect.

We must understand that while the policies at the stage of socialism must correspond with the level of productive forces, and are different from the policies at the advanced stage of communism, the formulation of party policies cannot be separated from the guidance of the communist ideological system. The present policies cannot bring us to our ultimate goal. What we are now striving for is socialist modernization with the ultimate goal of realizing communism; and the implementation of socialist policies and the strengthening of education in communist ideals and ethics are all for the purpose of serving this ultimate goal. Actually, according to the policy "to each according to his work," an individual received remunerations for the amount of social labor he has expended. This is different from "to each according to his needs" under communism. However, both "to each according to his work" and "to each according his needs" are predicated on "from each according to his ability," and the laborer should, with the sense of being a master, make full use of his ability and efforts to make maximum contributions to the society instead of taking the mercenary-labor approach of "more work, more pay and less work, less pay" as used in the capitalist society. This reflects the demands of communist ideals and ethics and includes the substance of the communist style. From this, we can see policies and style are closely related and reconciled.

Practice has proved that after establishing the communist style, laborers will have a keen sense of social responsibility and will handle the relationships between the state, the collective and the individuals with a high ideal. They will treat labor as their bounden duty instead of a means of living, and will do everything willingly in line of duty or beyond the call of duty. This can certainly do no harm to the implementation of the policy "to each according to his work." On the other hand, if we neglect the education in communist ideals and ethics, or stress only policies but not style, the laborer will not be able to shake himself off from the fetters of the decadent capitalist ideology and will "work according to the amount of remunerations received." As a result, "cadres will control others through the medium of money, and workers work only for the sake of money," and the development of the workers activism and creativity as well as the sustained increase in production will be greatly restricted. Now in the system of economic responsibility being practiced by some units, two different situations have emerged under similar material conditions. Some people are "fighting for every inch of land" on the questions of base figures for the responsibility system, labor quotas, unit prices for piecework and so forth, in the hope of getting more pay. Others work diligently to make greater contributions, regardless of quotas or remunerations. This shows the difference in styles and in the attitude toward labor in implementing the policy "to each according to work." The two situations are entirely different.

To ensure fuller and more correct implementation of the policy "to each according to his work" ideologically and politically, fostering the communist style is of great significance. At present, because of the difference in the mental and physical power, technology and experiences among the workers, the complexity and the numerous types of labor, the different technical and material conditions, and the complex factors left over from the past concerning the varieties and prices of goods, it is very difficult to calculate, with absolute accuracy, the quality and quantity of labor consumed, or to receive equal amounts of products for equal amounts of labor. Furthermore, errors in the implementation of policies can often cause either excessive differences in distribution or egalitarianism. Thus there may be less pay for more work, more pay for less work, or even pay for no work at all, all of which are contrary to the principle "to each according to his work." In order that this principle may continue to improve, therefore, it is necessary to constantly readjust and reform the existing methods of distribution, on the basis of the development of production; and to wage struggles against the practice of "to each according to his work" in name only. Bonus is originally intended as a means of remunerations for above-quota labor. However, many enterprises are paying bonuses not in the right spirit. For example, some units are poor in production and management; however, the base figures for their profits to be turned over to the state are set very low and their shares of profits to be used as bonuses are very large. In some other units, the demands for labor intensity and technology are by no means high; yet these units are paying bonuses liberally, since they can find various excuses to repeat the appropriation of their bonus funds. In still other units, there is the practice of egalitarianism in the distribution of bonuses. All these practices will not help to encourage the advanced elements, to spur on the backward ones, to reward the diligent or to punish the lazy ones. Nor will they be conducive to the internal unity of the working

class. To overcome these defects, it is very necessary for the system of rewards to be streamlined and for the indiscriminate payment of bonuses be stopped. Ideology must take the lead in carrying out these measures. We must advocate the communist style and educate the broad masses of workers and staff members in correctly handling the relationships between the state, the collective and the individuals. As long as everyone can enhance his sense of responsibility as masters, we will be able to make greater contributions to socialist modernization by working selflessly.

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CSO: 4005/1165

## PARTY AND STATE

### SPECIAL PRIVILEGE CRITICIZED; RESPECT FOR LAW URGED

Shanghai MINZHU YU FAZHI [DEMOCRACY AND LEGAL SYSTEM] in Chinese No 7, 25 Jul 82 pp 5-7

[Article by Han Youtong [7281 1636 2717]: "Uphold the Legal System, Oppose Special Privileges"]

[Text] Developing socialist democracy and improving the socialist legal system are the main guarantee for building our country into a highly democratic and highly cultured socialist country with four modernizations. To improve the socialist legal system, we must first, as mentioned in the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China," "improve our Constitution and laws and ensure their strict observance and inviolability. We must turn the socialist legal system into a powerful instrument for protecting the rights of the people, ensuring order in production, work and other activities, punishing criminals and cracking down on the disruptive activities of class enemies." This spirit is full embodied in the Draft of the Revised Constitution. Article 5 in the General Principle reads: "The state upholds the uniformity and dignity of the socialist legal system." "All organs of state and people's armed forces, all political parties and public organizations and all enterprises and institutions must abide by the Constitution and the law. No organization or individual shall enjoy privileges that transcend the Constitution and the law." Here, the stipulation that "no organization or individual shall enjoy privileges that transcend the Constitution and the law" is very important and also very necessary at present. Opposing privileges and forbidding their existence are the key to the improvement of the socialist legal system.

Ours is a socialist country in which the people are masters. Our Constitution and law are worked out by the National People's Congress and its permanent organ the standing committee. They embody all people's will and represent all people's interests. The Constitution and the law are identical with the people's interests. Therefore, all organizations and individuals must strictly abide by them, and none of them can have the privileges that transcend the Constitution and the law and permit them to act unscrupulously; otherwise, they will work against the people, betray the people's interests, and set themselves against the people. The organizations and individuals here include the communist party and the communist party members. The communist party is not a

special organization that is detached from the people, and communist party members are not special citizens who are alienated from the people. Therefore, none of them enjoy any privilege that transcends the Constitution and the laws. Instead of enjoying any privilege, they should on the contrary set good examples in observing the Constitution and the law and take the lead in opposing privileges. "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" explicitly states: "As with other social organizations, Party organizations at all levels must conduct their activities within the limits permitted by the Constitution and the law." Comrade Liu Shaoqi said: "Besides scrupulously observing party discipline, communist party members must also abide by state laws in an exemplary manner and use their own exemplary activities to encourage and guide the broad masses in being law-abiding." The party's principles and policies represent the people's will and interests, while the Constitution and the law are the means to carry out the principles and policies. There is no conflict between them. The communist party is the party in power, and if it does not observe the Constitution and the law, how can it expect the people to do the same? Facts have proved that when the party itself failed to observe the Constitution and the law, the whole country was in chaos. The 10 years of turmoil during the "great cultural revolution" is a painful lesson we have learned from experience.

It should be pointed out that most of our party members and cadres are good or relatively good and they do observe the Constitution and the law. However, there are also some party members and cadres who have been corroded by feudal privileges and bourgeois ideology, and particularly by the baleful influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." They disregard party discipline and state laws and commit all kinds of outrages, thinking that they are privileged and above the Constitution and the law. This produced very undesirable repercussions among the masses. If we do not resolutely stop them and deal with them according to law, our party members and cadres will certainly be ruined resulting in the destruction of our state and party.

Article 5 in the Draft of the Revised Constitution concerning opposition to privilege is a powerful weapon for defending the socialist legal system, and must be resolutely implemented.

To carry out effectively the ruling on opposing privileges in our political and social life, I think that we should first resolutely carry out the principle that all citizens are equal before the law as clearly stated in our Constitution and law, since this principle itself legally rejects the existence of privileges. To oppose privileges, we must follow the principle that everyone is equal before the law. On the other hand, if we want to follow this principle, we must oppose privileges. Opposing privileges and following this principle are interrelated and inseparable. That is why Article 5 of our Organ Law for People's Courts states: "In exercising their judicial authority, the people's courts treat all citizens equally according to the law, irrespective of nationality, race, sex, profession, social background, religion, education, financial status and length of residence, and without allowing any special privileges."

Article 8 of the Organic Law for People's Procuratorates states: "People procuratorates at all levels shall exercise their procuratorial authority and deal with any citizen as their equal in accordance with the applicable law and shall not be permitted any privileges." Article 4 of our Law on Criminal Procedure also states: "In handling criminal cases, the people's court, the people's procuratorate and the public security organ must rely on the masses, base themselves on facts and take the law as the yardstick. All citizens are equal in the application of the law. No privilege whatsoever is permissible before the law." "All citizens are equal before the law" as an unshakable constitutional principle has been included in the Draft of the Revised Constitution. These stipulations in our Constitution and laws fully indicate the democratic spirit of the socialist legal system, and marks a clean break from all the laws protecting privileges in the past. This is quite correct. To carry out these stipulations in practice, we must see to it that laws must be observed, their enforcement must be strict and lawbreakers must be dealt with. No matter how high may be his position, how strong may be his power, and how illustrious may have been his achievements in the past, the public security organ has the right to investigate on any citizen, take him into custody, and interrogate him, as long as he has any brush with the criminal law. The procuratorate also has the right to arrest and indict him, and the law court has the right to try him, all according to law. Only thus can we be sure that all citizens are equal before the law, and eliminate the existence of any privilege.

Secondly, in order to implement the stipulations in the Draft of the Revised Constitution on opposing privileges, we must conduct in-depth and meticulous education in the legal system among all citizens, and particularly the leading cadres at all levels so that they will be fully aware that privilege is a by-product of the system of private ownership of the means of production and a manifestation of the exploiting classes' ideology. Under the system of exploitation, privilege is the foundation of the legal system, while the legal system is a tool for protecting privilege. Countries under the system of slavery mainly determine people's ranks according to patriarchal or blood relationship and privileges. The criterion for the determination of ranks under the feudal and privilege systems is the level of people's government posts, their family background and the areas and land owned by them. Despite its slogan that "all people are equal before the law," the bourgeoisie still cannot eliminate privileges, the only difference here being that money, or capital, privilege has replaced the heredity rank privilege under feudalism. Privilege and the legal system are still closely combined. Only socialism can eliminate the possibility of any one enslaving others on the strength of his private possession of the means of production; and in so doing, it can also eliminate the social conditions and the economic basis on which privilege depends for existence.

However, we must be soberly aware that our country has come from the womb of a semifeudal and semicolonial society. Although the feudal and privilege systems have been completely abolished after more than 2,000 years' existence, the ideas of privilege and the concept of ranks left over from the old society are rotting in some nook and corner and causing a stench to poison people's souls. Some people are lavishing or misappropriating state property



in violation of the state's financial laws; others are depriving people of their democratic rights and shielding their relatives, sons and daughters who have committed crimes, all in disregard of law and discipline; and so forth. All these are manifestations of the ideas of feudal privileges and are jeopardizing the socialist legal system. Therefore, under conditions of socialism, privilege and the legal system are mutually antagonistic, because the legal system rejects privilege, and privilege undermines the legal system by obstructing its enforcement. All people including the government workers at all levels must earnestly study and thoroughly understand the stipulations in the Draft of the Revised Constitution on opposing privilege and consciously wage a struggle in defense of the socialist legal system.

Thirdly, to implement the stipulations in the Draft of the Revised Constitution on opposing privileges, we must fully develop socialist democracy, continue to improve various rules and regulations, and exercise effective supervision over the activities of the government workers.

Our government workers are the servants of the people. They have only the duty of serving the people diligently, but no right to pursue privileges. Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly pointed out during his lifetime: "All our cadres, whatever their rank, are servants of the people." "Our communist party members want revolution, and do not want to become officials." Privilege in ideology and action is as incompatible with the morality and workstyle, which government workers should have, as is fire with water. Summing up the experiences of the Paris Commune 100 years ago, Engels pointed out that after establishing its own political power, the proletariat should take effective measures to prevent government workers' "changing from public servants into masters of the society." Lenin also stressed the need for vigilance, lest the government workers might become "privileged persons divorced from people and riding on the backs of people." One of the effective measures of prevention is mass supervision from below upward. To be specific, we have to fully develop socialist democracy and mobilize the broad masses of party members and people to exercise their revolutionary supervision over the leading cadres at various levels, and to prohibit the existence of any special party member or special cadre. This is also a democratic right given by the Constitution to the citizens. The Draft of the Revised Constitution clearly states: "Citizens of the People's Republic of China have the right to make criticisms of and proposals to any organ of state or any functionary therein; citizens have the right to appeal, complain or report to relevant organs of state against transgression of law or neglect of duty by any organ of state or any functionary therein." "The organs of state concerned must handle appeals, complaints or reports submitted to them, by investigating the facts. No one shall suppress such appeals, complaints or reports or retaliate against citizens making them." Besides mass supervision from below upward, it is also necessary to greatly strengthen the work of the procuratorate and discipline inspection as well as other forms of supervision from below upward. All government workers who have seriously jeopardized state interests and the people's democratic rights should be dealt with according to law on the merits of each case and without tolerance or leniency.



## PARTY AND STATE

### MEASURES FOR STRENGTHENING SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY, LEGAL SYSTEM

Shanghai MINZHU YU FAZHI [DEMOCRACY AND LEGAL SYSTEM] No 7, 25 Jul 82 pp 7-8

[Article by Wang Shuwen [3769 0647 2429]: "Two Important Measures for Strengthening Socialist Democracy and Legal System"]

[Text] In developing socialist democracy and improving the socialist legal system, the Draft of Revised Constitution has included many new measure. Among them, two important ones are the increase of the functions and powers of the NPC Standing Committee and the safeguard for the implementation of the Constitution.

Strengthening socialist democracy and legal system are of very great significance. According to past experiences, the large number of NPC deputies (fixed by the electoral law at 3,500) has made it inconvenient for the NPC to exercise many functions and powers. Therefore, the Draft stipulates that it will make and amend basic laws concerning criminal offenses, civil affairs, the structure of the state and other matters, while the other laws are to be enacted in good time by the NPC Standing Committee. This is very necessary for strengthening socialist legislation.

Does the increase of legislative power for the NPC Standing Committee mean the weakening of the NPC's position and role? I do not think so for the following reasons: As far as its legal position is concerned, the NPC is the supreme state power organ; in our state structure, its power is the highest. However, its power is not so unlimited that it can act as it pleases, as some people may think. As stipulated in all our country's constitutions in the past, all state powers belong to the people and the NPC must be responsible to the people and accept their supervision. Therefore, its functions and powers must be specified clearly in the Constitution. Thus, after listing 12 items of functions and powers of the NPC, Article 60 of the Draft clearly states in the last item: [the NPC should] "exercise other functions and powers that shall be exercised by the highest organ of state power." At the same time, since the NPC is the highest organ of state power, the Draft stipulates that it has the right to discuss and decide on the important issues in the state's political life. But this does not mean the more functions and powers, the better and the more democratic. The reason is that we should be concerned with real democracy. If it is only democracy in appearance which cannot work in practice, then it is not true democracy and may even obstruct the development of socialist democracy.

Secondly, in its legal position, the NPC Standing Committee is responsible and accountable to the NPC, and its functions and powers cannot be above those of the NPC. This must be first affirmed. On the other hand, however, it must be strongly pointed out that since the NPC Standing Committee is elected by the NPC, and is a permanent organ of the NPC, it is a component of the Supreme state power organ responsible for the day-to-day work. Of course, its functions and powers must also be strictly confined within the scope specified by the Constitution. This point can be easily clarified if we will refer to the constitutions of other socialist countries. According to the present constitution of Romania for example, the State Council is the supreme state power organ. However, the constitution also stipulates that the Council of Ministers is the supreme state power organ for day-to-day work. The Draft does not make such a clear specification of this point, which, however, is embodied in the spirit behind the stipulations concerning the NPC Standing Committee. Therefore, we cannot separate the NPC and the NPC Standing Committee from each other, and even less set them against each other in the belief that strengthening the NPC Standing Committee will mean the weakening of the NPC. We must understand that this important measure is a vital step in building our supreme state power organ.

Finally, we must also point out that while increasing the functions and powers of the NPC Standing Committee, the Draft also strengthens the building of the NPC itself mainly by: 1) Restoring the legal procedures contained in the 1954 Constitution concerning amendment of the Constitution and adopting law and other bills by the NPC, and stipulating that the NPC has the power to make decrees (including decisions and resolutions other than law). These stipulations are very important in protecting the position of the basic law of the Constitution, upholding the sanctity of the resolutions adopted by the NPC, and strengthening the socialist legal system. 2) Stipulating the addition of a Financial and Economic Affairs Committee, an Education and Science Committee, a Foreign Affairs Committee and other necessary special committees to examine, discuss and draw up relevant bills. The NPC deputies have the right to submit to the Congress legislative bills. This will help strengthen the NPC's work in legislation. 3) Including a series of new stipulations concerning the rights and duties of NPC deputies to enable them to fulfill their responsibilities. Thus the Draft combines closely the strengthening of the NPC with the strengthening of the NPC Standing Committee so that they can play their full roles as the supreme state power organs and as a truly authoritative organ of NPC deputies.

Safeguarding the implementation of the Constitution is another important measure for the Draft to strengthen socialist democracy and legal system. Since the lack of adequate safeguard for the implementation of the Constitution led to its severe disruption and ravage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" counterrevolutionary clique during the 10 years of "Great Cultural Revolution," the Draft has attached great importance to this safeguard by making many important stipulations. The main ones are as follows: 1) In the Preamble, the Draft affirms the position of the Constitution and its role, clearly stating that it is the state's fundamental law with the supreme authority. 2) In Article 5, it is stipulated that no laws, decrees or statutes shall

contradict the Constitution. 3) All organizations and citizens must observe the Constitution. 4) Amendments to the Constitution should be proposed by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress or by more than one-fifth of the deputies to the NPC. 5) The NPC Standing Committee supervises the implementation of the Constitution. 6) The Draft restores the feature of the 1954 Constitution concerning the annulment of administrative statutes, decisions and orders of the State Council which contravene the Constitution, laws or decrees. 7) Local people's congresses at various levels, in their respective administrative areas, ensure the observance and implementation of the Constitution, laws, decrees and general administrative statutes. These stipulations are of great significance in safeguarding the implementation of the Constitution.

Different countries have different organs for supervising the implementation of the Constitution. Some of them are constitutional courts; some are constitutional committees; some are supreme state power organs; and some are supreme courts. The Draft stipulates that the NPC Standing Committee should exercise its supervision over the implementation of the Constitution; this is more suitable for the actual situation in our country at present. Formerly, such supervision was exercised by the NPC; now it is taken over by the NPC Standing Committee. This should strengthen the consistency of the supervision. At the same time, this supervisory power in the hands of the NPC Standing Committee carries more weight than it would in the hands of other state organs. Of course, the way in which the NPC Standing Committee will actually strengthen its supervision over the implementation of the Constitution has to be carefully studied and decided on. Circumstances are different in different countries as to the need for a special chapter to be devoted to the supervision over the implementation of the Constitution. The Draft does not include such a chapter since such inclusion will be left to the discretion of the localities. This will avoid duplication and also help improve the structure of the Constitution. For example, the position and role of the Constitution is described in the last paragraph of the Preamble. This helps to combine closely the Preamble with the Articles so that the Constitution become a coherent whole. In Article 5, it is stated that no statutes shall contradict the Constitution. This lends stress to the principle of socialist legal system in the General Principles.

Generally speaking, the Draft dealing with the increase of the functions and powers of the NPC Standing Committee and the strengthening of the safeguard for the implementation of the Constitution has been prepared after an extensive solicitation of views in various quarters and through repeated discussions and studies. It is very important for developing socialist democracy and strengthening the socialist legal system. While conducting a democratic discussion, we must have a good grasp of the basic substance, basic spirit and great significance of the stipulations and offer our opinions on its revision so as to further improve them.

## PARTY AND STATE

### HARBIN STRENGTHENS PARTY LEADERSHIP

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 29 Jun 82 p 1

[Article by Bai Yaguang [4101 0068 0342]: "Do Not Take the Unique To Be Universal"]

[Text] A problem of ideological method in work at present that is worthy of some attention is that of clarifying the connections and distinctions between the unique and the universal, between the specific and the general--not taking the unique to be universal and the specific to be general.

For example, in opening to the outside world and studying the experiences of foreign countries, we should study, absorb and use those management methods based on the foundation of the social expansion of production and those general processes suitable for use in modern social production, and we should not embark upon the old isolationist road again. But, we must see that the management methods of capitalist countries are linked to capitalist relations of production and that they cannot help but be stamped with the brand of capitalist forms of production. This is something that we must eliminate and criticize. If we do not draw such distinctions, and uncritically promote and thoughtlessly and indiscriminately copy capitalist management experiences, we may take the decadent to be the miraculous, which will adversely affect our work and our cause.

For example, in viewing the present struggle against serious criminal activity in the economic realm, we must accurately deal with the relationship between the unique and the universal, between the specific and the general. On the one hand, we want to implement, over a long period of time, a policy of opening up to the outside world and stimulating the domestic economy. Hostile elements, both foreign and domestic, will naturally take the opportunity to carry out sabotage and, within our ranks, there will naturally be irresolute elements that become corrupted. This is unavoidable. And this struggle will certainly not be a problem limited to certain areas, but rather will be a comprehensive problem. On the one hand, because the harmful impact of the tide of anarchism and ultraindividualism brought on by the sabotage of the Lin Biao, Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques some years ago was felt quite deeply by some people, and on the other hand, because, during the several years that we have been carrying out the policy of opening to the outside world and stimulating our domestic economy, our ideological and

political work and needed management systems and measures have not kept pace. The result has been that there have been many holes in which criminal elements could hide--this being a unique historical reason for the development of the serious criminal activity--and the struggle against corruption expresses itself to different extents in different regions and in different units. If we do not carry out a concrete analysis of conditions, then we will not be able to size up situations accurately and will even create doubts about the shifting focus of our work and the strategic decisions made since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee.

Materialist dialectics tells us that the unique and the universal, the specific and the general are in contradictory unity: the universal and the general can only exist among and through the unique and the specific. Because of this, all unique things include the universal, and there is no specific that does not include the general; but the universal and the general are also abstract generalizations of the general characteristics and basic nature within the unique and the specific--having abandoned the elements of chance and appearance within the unique and the specific, while bringing to light the inner essence and nature of things. Because of this, breaking the connection between them will cause universal and general things to become ossified dogma which departs from the unique and the specific; by failing to see the differences between them, by simply equating the universal and the general with the unique and the specific, we will confuse the inevitable and the accidental, basic nature and appearance, and will fail to discover the laws of the development of things.

In the previous period, people criticized the dogmatic method of thinking that stressed the universal and the general, ignored the unique and the specific, took the general to be a ready-made conclusion and formula that was used to cut out the abundant, concrete objective reality. This was completely necessary, and we should continue to overcome and defend against it; but, at the same time, we must be alert to not taking the specific to be the general and not spreading the tendency to take things which have only unique significance to be things with general significance. By not paying attention to this last point, we will be one-sided in our work. For example, the dogmatic mistakes in our party history not only reveal a lack of attention to analyzing our national conditions--taking the experience of the October Revolution with its universal aspects to be a ready-made formula to be applied everywhere--but also reveals a lack of attention to analyzing the uniqueness of the Russia revolutionary experience--taking armed rebellion in key cities to be something of universal significance suitable for use in all countries; in this regard, the two extremes are linked. And for example, in the mistaken method of "cutting all with one knife" in past work instructions--was this not simply replacing the unique with a universal, and at the same time taking a specific to be the general, resulting in tens of millions of "feet" being cut to fit one size of "shoe"? How could this mobilize the initiative of the broad masses and open a wide road to the four modernizations construction?

We must also understand that things that are universal and general within specific bounds and at a specific stage of development will, when the bounds

are extended and in the longer course of development, become things of a unique and specific nature. We should be good at adopting an overall perspective and at examining and recognizing problems with vision and foresight, which is to say attending to both the individual and the general nature of things and, moreover, going further in attending to the mutual ties between the general and the individual natures, and so continually obtain success in understanding and in practice.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### RECTIFICATION OF THOUGHT, WORK STYLE CARRIED OUT IN HARBIN

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 30 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by Zu Zhichu [4371 0037 0443]: "Our City's First Comprehensive Rectification Unit Achieves Clear Results--Strengthening the Construction of Leadership Groups, Raising the Fighting Strength of Party Organizations"]

[Text] Our city's first comprehensive rectification unit is combining rectification of thought and work style with rectification of organizations, strengthening and improving party leadership and raising the fighting strength of party organizations.

Rectifying thought arouses revolutionary spirit. Members of leadership groups at every level, using a draft of the party constitution and the "Guiding Principles" as yardsticks, have compared, investigated and summarized, and put stress on solving the problems of lack of force behind the implementation of the line, principles and policies of the party, lack of confidence in the four modernizations construction and of using position to feather one's own nest. This has raised political consciousness, aroused revolutionary spirit and brought primary effort to bear on the four modernizations construction. For several months now, in the rectification unit where economic results can be calculated, economic forces of production have clearly improved. The party committee at the Harbin Oil Refinery, through searching for disparities, has overcome satisfied thinking and reinvigorated revolutionary spirit, and, in a focused way, rectified the systems of economic responsibility and reformed the systems of enterprise management. They have gotten a hold of technical reform and labor organization adjustment and raised refinery production to a higher level.

Rectifying work styles strengthens survey research work. Members of leadership groups at every level have upheld carrying out rectification and reform together, have consciously overcome bureaucratization and bad work styles that depart from reality and from the masses, have fostered the excellent traditions of the party, have energetically encouraged the practice of investigation and study and have forcefully strengthened party leadership in production and administration work. The party committee of the steel rolling mill in Harbin, beginning with an investigation of enterprise management problems, have applied party leadership more realistically to improve economic results, have improved enterprise management, have strengthened economic bookkeeping

and have gotten a hold on comprehensive quality management, seeing to it that steel consumption was reduced 13 kilograms per ton, while oil consumption dropped 9 kilograms, and that the proportion of steel rods meeting specifications increased to 98.5 percent.

Rectifying [party] organizations improved party leadership. In line with the "three in one" spirit, the leading group of the rectification unit carried out organizational rectification in separate groups. Through organizational rectification, the situation of weak and disorganized leadership was changed and the fighting strength of party organizations was raised. The party committee of the Harbin Ball Bearing Factory, after it had rectified work styles and unified ideological awareness, went through repeated deliberations, united those above and those below, and adjusted and strengthened leadership circles, making them more revolutionary, more youthful, more knowledgeable and more specialized. At the same time, it carried out a separation of party and government, of work and life and of the first and second lines, forcefully strengthening and improving party leadership.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### CADRES COMMENDED AS 'EXCELLENT' PARTY MEMBERS

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 29 Aug 82 p 1

[Article: "Firmly Carry Out the Line of the Party, Set an Example for Party Members and the Masses--On the Capital Construction Battlefront in Industry and Communications a Group of Cadres Above the Factory Level Are Appraised as Excellent Party Members"]

[Text] In our province, more than 720 party cadres in positions above the level of deputy plant director on the capital construction battlefront in industry and communications have been appraised as excellent Communist Party members. On the eve of "Seven One" [the anniversary of the founding of the CCP on 1 July 1922], they received commendations and awards from concerned party organizations of the province and the city.

Among the excellent party cadres who received commendations were Hao Zhengui [6787 2182 6311], secretary of the Jinxi Chemical Industry Machine Plant; Wang Wenjin [3076 2429 6930], secretary of the party committee of the Shenyang Water Pump Factory; Li Xuesheng [2621 1331 3932], secretary of the party committee of the No 1 Woolen Mill in Fuxun; Ni Fengfang [0242 7685 5364], deputy director of Semiconductor Parts Factory No 6 in Shenyang; Feng Anzu [7458 1344 4371], director of the Anshan Thermal Energy Research Institute; and Sun Wanshou [1327 8001 1108], the captain of the Ling Lake, a freighter of the Dalian Ocean Freight Company. Their common characteristics are: strong party character, correct party style, strict adherence to party regulations, the ability to implement unswervingly and thoroughly the line, principles and policies of the party and the ability to act as models for the broad party members and the masses.

At present, on the capital construction battlefront in industry and communications, more than 90 percent of the enterprises throughout the province are launching the "Two Advanced and One Excellent" (advanced party branches, advanced party groups and excellent Communist Party members) movement. In the past, only ordinary party cadres participated in such movements, but, since last year, leading cadres have willingly participated, and this has brought about a more thorough development of the "Two Advanced and One Excellent" movement.

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PARTY AND STATE

'ZHEJIANG RIBAO' REPORTS, COMMENTS ON CADRES, CRIME

Local Party Secretary's Crime

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 3 Jul 82 p 1

[Article by Wu Yongcuo [0702 3057 4373] and Li Huashu [2621 5478 2885]]

[Text] Party Secretary Shao Shengrui [6730 5168 3843] of Chengguan Village in Huangyan County used his position to take possession of a large amount of state and collective property, to occupy land illegally for the purpose of building a private residence and to abet the Shuguang Chemical Plant in evading taxes. He has violated the criminal code, and recently the people's procurate of Huangyan County decided to arrest him.

The 3-member household of Shao Shengrui is already occupying a residence more than 100 square meters in size. In recent years, Shao has taken large amounts of all manner of state and collective construction materials, such as cement and steel and lumber materials, illegally occupied approximately 3/4-square mu of land in Chengguan Village and built an extravagant two-story private villa. Shao Shengrui also instigated and personally took part in plans of the Shuguang Chemical Plant to evade state taxes. In September of 1980, the Shuguang Chemical Plant accountant, Tao Xianjin [7118 0341 6651] (already in custody) reported to the former village labor office that the plant had hidden profits of from 600,000 to 700,000 yuan. The town's labor office sensed that this was an important affair and reported it to Shao Shengrui. Upon hearing the news, Shao Shengrui neither reported it to superiors nor reprimanded the plant and did not call for it to pay the tax. Sometime later, Shao did call for a meeting of those involved and made further plans to hide Shuguang Chemical Plant profits. At his instigation, the plant used the methods of recording fraudulent increases in the cost of materials, indicating that capital construction expenses were putting a squeeze on costs, and concealing reserves for production materials and tabloid products, and in 1980 alone it evaded state taxes amounting to more than 450,000 yuan.

Prior to this the party committee at the level above the village had approved the expulsion of Shao Shengrui from the party.

## How Did Shao Shengrui Set Out on the Road to Crime?

In early spring of this year, on Douji Lane in Chengguan Village in Huangyan County, a grandly styled two-story villa with a private courtyard was built. It occupies more than 0.7 mu of land and is surrounded by a high wall. The inside is uniquely crafted and extremely tasteful: the terrazzo floor on the first level has an inlaid copper sketch of a panda; the bedrooms upstairs all have balconies and terraces in front and in back, and the terraces have cement trusses formed into grape trellises. Everything is durably structured, with inside frames--built to last.

This is an illegally constructed private villa with an estimated construction cost of more than 20,000 yuan (with more than 6,000 yuan of land requisition cost not included). The owner of the villa was the former party secretary of Chengguan Village in Huangyan County, Shao Shengrui.

In the more than 4 years that he held the position of village party secretary, Shao Shengrui used his position to bend the law for personal benefit, giving a big green light to the improper despoiling of that plot of land and the construction of his private residence; inducing and directing village plants to evade taxes, turning public funds into private funds and squandering them wastefully; and covering up, using criminal elements and engaging in graft and embezzlement for personal gain. The villa displays the power crazed avariciousness of Shao Shengrui. In Chengguan Village in Huangyan County, the people had already come to refer to Shao Shengrui as "the master".

How could a local Communist Party secretary become a "master," lording it over the people? How did this transformation come about?

Shao Shengrui did not change suddenly. This was an inevitable result of the evil escalation of his egoism.

Shao Shengrui took part in the revolution in 1948 and entered the party in 1950. At the time of the 1960 criticism of military rank, he was very dissatisfied because "there were still only 3 stars on his shoulder," and he publicly tore up the "orders concerning military rank." After that, he resisted reorganization on a number of occasions and asked to be made an official. In this regard, the party organization patiently helped him while providing the needed party discipline. In this way, the evil development of his egoist thinking was temporarily stymied. In 1977, Shao Shengrui became the party secretary in Chengguan Village in Huangyan County. After that, he began to use the "power" in his hands to plan his own gain and set out on the road to crime.

In 1978, when the state gave a portion of workers an increase in wages, only a limited number of the Chengguan Village agency employees--according to a fixed ratio--were included. After Shao Shengrui discovered this, he did not consult the masses concerning the list of people to receive increases, but simply included his own name in newspaper reports. In 1979, when another portion of worker wages were to be adjusted, he brazenly boasted in a meeting

that: "This time I really should not expect it, but seeing that no one else really deserves it, I seem the more deserving." In this way, he again "got away with" another increase!

Shao Shengrui loves flowers and wanted to build a greenhouse. He spotted two residences located to the south of his home and used his authority to get his hands on these homes. After leveling the homes, he built a flower garden more than 60 square meters in area on that and the adjoining land. He grew a large number of expensive flowers and grasses and miniature trees and shrubs in the garden. And he built a greenhouse more than 10 square meters in area. The total cost was at least 1,000 yuan.

At the start of 1981, when smuggling activity was on an upsurge, Shao Shengrui used deception to obtain a jeep from the county public security agency and went to Leqing County to buy smuggled goods. He wore a cloth hat, a gauze mask and a black jacket. He was made up as a peasant so that he could melt into the crowds at the smuggler's market and buy tape recorders and other smuggled goods.

In order to build that high class villa, Shao Shengrui ignored party regulations and state laws and flagrantly seized farmland. When commandeering the land, he personally inspected the site, declaring that "the village is commandeering this land." One section of the land served as an orange grove for one commune member. It had 4 orange trees that had been growing for 10 years. But Shao Shengrui was adamant about cutting down the trees and "commandeering the land." The commune member's household pleaded tearfully, saying, "To cut down the trees is to cut the roots of our lives!" Shao Shengrui had the effrontery to walk off disdainfully and got others to compel that peasant family to cut down the trees and surrender the land.

Shao Shengrui misappropriated from state construction sites and village enterprises all the steel, cement and lumber materials used to build his extravagant villa; for some of it he merely "paid greetings," acting as a "purchasing agent" for village enterprises and entering costs on factory financial records as "production expenditures."

Shao Shengrui even went so far as to induce 10 village run enterprises to create "dummy accounts" so as to evade taxes--reaching a total amount of 790,000 yuan! Shao Shengrui did as he pleased in putting these funds to personal use. The more than 6,000 yuan of "land requisition cost" used to build his house was entered as Shuguang Chemical Plant "capital construction and equipment procurement costs"; the more than 31,000 yuan he used to illegally purchase a Japanese equipment truck is still down as "accounts receivable" of the plastic bakelite plant. He also violated land management laws, indiscriminately criticized and made gifts of good land, and won people over by whatever means necessary, sabotaging the socialist economic order.

While scheming for his personal gain, Shao Shengrui raised those who served him, one by one, to positions of leadership, and forcefully brought some of them into the party. They colluded together, forming factions to feather their own nests. The man in charge of the village run Shuguang Chemical Plant was

once accused in writing by those at higher levels of being "unfit for the position" because of tax evasion problems. But Shao Shengrui did not forward the directive and, surprisingly, put forth a village party committee document officially appointing the man plant director, and he later brought him into the party; Ma Dongsheng [7456 0392 3932] of the Village Industry Leadership Group is a hardened gambler, as well as having a number of other vices. But, Shao Shengrui actually used "round about" methods to bring him into the party and promote him to cadre. Such people are endlessly grateful to Shao Shengrui for being promoted and given opportunities and so they earnestly served him. One person publicly proclaimed: "Shao Shengrui is the master. Ma Dongsheng and I are his 2 hounds. As long as he will use me, I will serve him." In this way, they pushed and pulled each other into the abyss of crime.

After the struggle against serious criminal activities in the economic realm was launched, the affairs of Shao Shengrui gradually came to light, but his attitude was extremely bad and he began to lie that he had done nothing wrong, to spread slanderous rumors, to make oblique accusations and to resist provincial and county investigation groups. He continued to use the method of stealthily substituting one thing for another to hide his crimes. After his tricks had been seen through, he used factionalism to cover up crimes and even made false accusations against others. This revealed even more of his repulsive visage.

From his "quest for fame and fortune" to "having power in hand to help him fulfill his desires" to finally jumping into the criminal morass, Shao Shengrui committed crimes against the people. In the course of his transformation, he has provided the people with a negative example, showing them how not to become corrupt and go bad and sounding this warning note: it is forbidden to use position for personal gain.

#### Commentary

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 3 Jul 82 p 1

[Text] The abuse of law in pursuit of profit on the part of Shao Shengrui, the former village party secretary of Chengguang Village in Huangyan County, seriously damaged the socialist economy, and he was recently arrested. All of the cadres and masses in the area were overjoyed.

The law of our nation is the collective expression of the will of the worker class and the masses and is a strong weapon protecting the socialist economy and the interests of the people. Shao Shengrui used his position and authority to seize state and collective property wantonly; to make gifts of grain fields and orange groves indiscriminately, damaging the socialist economic order; and to direct and take part in plans for the enterprises under his control to evade taxes, causing great loss to the nation. After these affairs were brought to light, he not only refused to confess matters, but also used factionalism in a blind scheme to create confusion.

Socialist public property is sacred and inviolable. It is completely necessary to bring the full weight of the law to bear against Shao Shengrui, this serious, unbridled economic criminal. Seriously using the weapon of the law and severely punishing those criminal elements that sabotage the economy is an important key in promoting the full development of the struggle against serious criminal activity in the economic realm. Political and judicial departments at every level must independently exercise their authority in accordance with laws and regulations and under the unified leadership and planning of party committees. In desiring to punish economic criminals in accordance with the law, we must first clearly distinguish what is a crime and what is not. We cannot label as crime that which is not a crime, but those who truly commit crimes must be condemned in accordance with the law. Presently, there are some areas that are not good at handling matters according to the law. In regard to some serious economic criminals, they are used to using economic sanctions or party or political disciplinary action in place of sanctions imposed by law. This is not acceptable. There is a distinct line between making a mistake and committing a crime, the two being different in nature and not to be confused. Party or political disciplinary actions and legal sanctions are two distinct methods of handling matters and are not interchangeable. Everyone who violates criminal law should receive legal sanctions.

Some cadres are persistently indecisive, full of misgivings and unable to move against party cadres who commit crimes, especially those who have been under fire in battle and now have become serious economic criminals. This is also incorrect. A basic principle of the socialist legal system is that "citizens are uniformly equal before the law." This is to say that the law places the same restraints on all citizens, including party cadres and cadres in responsible positions in the party. Some persons earned merit in the revolutionary struggle, but this is only descriptive of their pasts and is absolutely no excuse for their not suffering legal sanctions for crimes committed today. Otherwise, it would be no less than admitting that they enjoyed the privilege of being above the law. That would harm the sanctity of the socialist legal system and is incompatible with the principles that our party has consistently upheld.

Lenin once established this rule for party members: "A Communist Party member who commits a crime must receive harsher punishment than an ordinary person." This is necessary. Only by meting out more severe legal punishment to those party cadres who dare to test the law and seriously disrupt the economy can we better protect the prestige of the nation's laws, uphold the glory of the designation, Communist Party member, and see to it that the vast party members better fulfill their vanguard model roles in socialist construction.



## PARTY AND STATE

### UNITS, DISTRICTS STUDY DRAFT OF REVISED CONSTITUTION

#### Study in Nanjing Units

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 16 May 82 p 4

[Article by Jing Xing [2529 5281], Xing Guo [5281 0948], De Neng [1795 5174]: "Our State and Our Army Were Founded on the Four Basic Principles-- Leaders of the Nanjing Air Force and the Provincial Military District Study and Discuss the Draft of the Revised Constitution"]

[Text] After its publication, the Draft of the Revised Constitution was the subject of serious study and discussion by the leading comrades of the Nanjing military units and air force.

All were agreed that the Draft of the Revised Constitution explicitly upholds the four basic principles as the foundation in the establishment of our state as well as in building our armed forces. Political commissar Xiao Qian [5135 0467] said that the four basic principles are the fundamental guarantee for our country's modernization drive as well as for the revolutionization, modernization and regularization of our army. Assistant commanding officer Jiang Yutian [1203 3768 3944] and assistant political commissar Peng You [1756 3945] said that our military units must be models in adhering to the four basic principles, that we must at present firmly take in hand the fight against the serious criminal activities in the economic field, firmly uphold the purity of communism, oppose decadent degeneration and guarantee the unchanging proletarian character of our armed forces.

During the discussions everybody felt deeply that the establishment in our state of a central military commission, which is to exercise leadership over the military strength of the whole country, is an important measure to strengthen the people's democratic dictatorship and a measure of extremely important strategic significance. Commanding officer Yuan Bin [5913 1755] said that this provision in the draft strengthens the leadership of the state over the armed forces, that it facilitates the state's overall disposition of its armed forces, based on the developmental conditions of the national economy, and strengthens one step further our confidence in the effective buildup of our military units. Assistant commanding officers Xie Bin [6200 2430] and Hou Hongjun [0186 3163 6511] spoke to the effect that at the present time when the two hegemonist powers, the Soviet Union and the

United States, vie with each other for supremacy, when the international situation is turbulent and the danger of war is ever present, the establishment in our country of a central military commission is a suitable move to cope with the complex and changeable international situation, as it will also serve to promote the accomplishment of the great undertaking of uniting our fatherland.

The Draft of the Revised Constitution provides that the tasks of our country's armed forces shall be to "consolidate national defense, resist aggression, protect the fatherland, protect the people in their peaceful work, participate in the country's constructive undertakings and serve the interests of the people at all times and in all places." Political commissar Li Zhongquan [2621 0022 2938] said in his speech, relating to the realities of building the military units, that the key to the question whether the military will be able to accomplish the glorious tasks entrusted to them by the people lies with us in the command positions. On all occasions we must set examples and present good models for all officers and men. At present the leading authorities are taking the initiative in effectively building up a spiritual civilization; they are mending their work style in earnest, raising work efficiency, continuously studying the new situation, solving the new problems and effectively building up the military establishment.

#### Study by Jiangsu Military District

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 16 May 82 p 4

[Article by Liu Jing [0491 3878] and Zhou Wenquan [0719 2429 0356]: "Our State and Our Army Were Founded on the Four Basic Principles--Leaders of the Nanjing Air Force and the Provincial Military District Study and Discuss the Draft of the Revised Constitution"]

[Text] After its publication, the Draft of the Revised Constitution was the subject of serious study and discussion by the leading comrades of the Jiangsu provincial military command; the discussion was frank and lively, and a deeper understanding was gained.

The leading comrades of the provincial military command read the Draft of the Revised Constitution as well as Comrade Peng Zhen's explanations to the draft, word by word and sentence by sentence. They recalled the past and compared it with the present. They became deeply aware that this is the revolutionary fruit paid for with the lives and blood of the Chinese people and that it incorporates the experiences of our country's 32 years of socialist revolution and construction. Some comrades even brought out the texts of the preceding three constitutions to make a comparative study of the new draft.

During the discussions all unanimously agreed that adherence to the four basic principles is a foundation on which our state is established. If the Draft of the Revised Constitution writes this explicitly into its preamble, it thereby reflects the common thinking of the broad masses and of all officers and men of the armed forces. Peng Bo [1756 0514], political commissar of the provincial military command, said that the stress placed on the



adherence to the four basic principles in the Draft of the Revised Constitution is a reliable guarantee for the prosperity and growth of our country. The heroic struggle of the Chinese people during the past more than 100 years of its history shows: "Without the Communist Party there would be no new China." "Only socialism can save China." The practice since the Third National Party Congress gives even further evidence that the CCP has the ability and the determination to lead the people in its socialist modernization drive. The fact that firm adherence to the leadership of the party has now been written into the new constitution and has become a guideline that will be observed by the whole people, guarantees once and for all that our country will not change its political direction and forever advance triumphantly along the socialist course.

The leading comrades of the provincial military command also conscientiously discussed the articles dealing with the rights and duties of the citizens and those dealing with the military. All agreed that the major task of the provincial military command is the work concerning the people's militia. The Draft of the Revised Constitution makes participation in the people's militia a duty of the citizens, thereby creating beneficial preconditions for us to do a good job in our work concerning the people's militia.

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CSO: 4005/996

## PARTY AND STATE

### FUJIAN STUDIES ROLE OF INTELLECTUALS

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 28 May 82 p 1

[Article by the Provincial Party Committee's Office in Charge of Investigating the Intellectuals: "The Work of Investigating the Status of the Intellectuals Is Being Carried Out in All Localities of the Whole Province--Opinions Are Gathered, Comprehensively Studied and Problems Are Being Solved"]

[Text] The work of investigating the intellectuals is being actively carried out throughout the province. In units where this work has progressed fairly rapidly, an overall study has already been completed. These units have entered the stage of comprehensive studies and of suggesting measures for improvements, also have solved some problems.

Since the end of March, party committees in organs directly under the provincial administration and all prefectural (municipal) party committees have called special work symposia to transmit and carry into effect the spirit of the provincial work on investigating the situation of intellectuals, where they also drew up purposeful plans. Investigation groups and temporary offices have been set up where intellectuals tend to concentrate, such as in the offices and bureaus directly under the provincial administration; in the party committees at the universities and scientific research institutes; in the larger factories and mines and in the party committees of prefectures, municipalities and counties. Thus, special contingents in charge with the investigation work have been established. On 4 May, the provincial administration called a meeting for the exchange of experiences and submission of reports concerning the work of investigating the intellectuals in units directly under the provincial administration. At this meeting the cultural and educational office, the united front department, the communications office and other units presented certain methods and experiences.

This time, the leading comrades in the party committees at all levels showed greater regards and concern during the present investigation. Comrade Xiang Nan [7309 0589] repeatedly gave his comments on problems that had arisen in the examinations and also submitted his own opinions. Comrade Cheng Xu [4453 1645] had visited Fuzhou University, the Material and Construction Institute, the Agricultural Institute and the Teachers Training College to interview professors and specialists and to attend symposia and listen attentively to opinions expressed by specialists, professors and middle-aged

core members of the professions on the work in connection with the intellectuals. In certain institutions of higher education where examination work had progressed more effectively, the higher level and intermediate level intellectuals of the rank of lecturer and above who participated in the symposia and who had been interviewed amounted to over 70 percent of their total number. Intellectuals of high and intermediate level who participated in the symposia or who were interviewed numbered over 6,000.

During the symposia and in their interviews, the intellectuals stated that all are now feeling more at ease because ever since the Third Plenary Session our province has achieved much in bringing order out of chaos and in implementing the party's policies. They also expressed their determination to make even greater contributions toward the realization of the four modernization projects. In the course of reporting their problems, they were also more practical and realistic and showed themselves capable of considering the situation as a whole and of understanding the country's difficulties. Through these investigations, the cadres at all levels, especially the leading cadres at all levels, became more aware of the fact that the intellectuals are an important part of the cadre contingent, and the examinations also rendered the leadership teams more revolutionized, specialized, knowledgeable and rejuvenated. To a very great extent the question was one of how to deal with the intellectuals, especially with the middle-aged and younger intellectuals. Raising the ideological knowledge promoted a gradual deepening of the investigation work.

The purpose of these investigations is to solve problems. In the course of its examinations, the provincial party committee specially emphasized that problem solving must go hand in hand with the investigations. The committee demanded that each level bear its responsibility, that active initiative be shown, that there be no shifting of responsibilities to others or any delaying tactics. At present many units have already suggested methods and measures to solve problems and even taken up the solution of a number of problems. Several institutions of higher education, research institutes and also production departments have already carried out over 10 beneficial events for the middle-aged and young intellectuals. The city of Fuzhou has established, or is in the process of establishing, a network of service stations for units with a high concentration of intellectuals. Xiamen, Jinjiang, Putian, Sanming and other places have solved some housing difficulties and arranged adjustments in some cases where technical personnel worked on jobs not fitting their specializations. Some units begin to pay attention to solving the urgent work conditions for some old specialists and middle-aged core workers. In some hospitals and factories of Sanming, Xianyou, Fuzhou and other places it was found that housing was not allocated in a reasonable manner and leading cadres were dispatched to solve the problems, giving priority to intellectuals of intermediate and higher ranks. Some leftover problems in connection with the implementation of party policies are also now being solved.

Most recently the provincial party standing committee has heard reports on the work of investigating the intellectuals. Members of the examination organization of the provincial party committee and those in charge of related units

attended the meetings. In his speech, Xiang Nan affirmed the achievements thus far and pointed out that the work of investigating of the intellectuals is not done with just this one-time investigation, but must be continued, and the solution of problems must be pursued vigorously. Investigation work must be integrated with problem solving. It requires a high sense of responsibility and the courage to solve problems. It is absolutely necessary to firmly hold on to this work, without flinching from it, and to achieve the solution of a large number of problems.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### ANTICORRUPTION STRUGGLE CONSIDERED VITAL TO PARTY IN POWER

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 14 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Liu Yunjiu [0491 0061 0036]: "Anticorruption Struggle and the Building of the Party in Power"]

[Text] Can a party in power take good care of its self-building? This question is of vital importance to the fortune of the party and to the revolutionary cause under the party's leadership. Opposing capitalist corrosion and preserving the purity of communism are the most important task for the building of the party in power.

First, this question should be viewed from the plane of the important effects of class struggle on the building of the party in power. Lenin said: "Anything happening outside the party will be partially reflected in it as a mass party. It is very important that this point be grasped." (Collected Works of Lenin" Vol 32, p 166) Although the exploiting classes have been eliminated as classes, class struggle will continue to exist within certain limits for a long time to come and may even grow acute under certain conditions. This class struggle, which objectively exists, inevitably exerts its influence on the party ideologically, politically, and economically, and on the party's work style. In the party, some people who have neither been overcome by the counterrevolutionary violence of enemies at home or abroad, nor intimidated by the threats of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," are now obsessed with money and defeated in the capitalist world of pleasure. They have been hit by the sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisie. Some of them have become so obsequious to foreign capitalists that they lose their national and personal dignity. Others have collaborated with unscrupulous elements in smuggling and selling smuggled goods regardless of the sacrifice of national interests. There are also bribery, speculation, swindling and other forms of corruption and degeneration. These appalling facts tell us that the decadent capitalist ideas and work style have made their inroads into the militant communist party. It is undoubtedly "very, very important" to be aware of this point.

Furthermore, we must be soberly aware that the party in power is now confronted with the task of self-building. Lenin said: The party in power "is naturally an open party, and as such, opens the way to power." ("Collected Works of Lenin" Vol 30, p 443) Thus, to the party in power, "one of the biggest and

most serious dangers is to be divorced from the masses." ("Selected Works of Lenin" Vol 4, p 589) To prevent the party from being divorced from the masses and then becoming corrupted and degenerated, we must uphold the principle that the party should serve the people whole-heartedly, firmly adhere to the party members' guidelines, and raise its quality. "We do not need fictitious Party members even as a gift. Our Party, the party of the revolutionary working class, is the only government party in the world which is not concerned with increasing its membership but rather with improving its quality and purging itself of 'self-seekers.'" ("Selected Works of Lenin" Vol 4, p 76) Therefore, the party in power must have a unified set of disciplines, never permit any "protection of 'its own' scoundrels," and exercise even stricter discipline against those party members who have violated law and discipline.

The corrosion of some people in our party by capitalism is by no means coincidental. Apart from the effects of class struggle as an external cause, this corrosion is mainly due to internal causes. First, the power in the hands of many party members at various posts is originally intended for serving the people; under extraordinary circumstances, however, this power may become a personal privilege, which plays its role in the name of "administration" and through the party's prestige. Second, some people in the party are lacking in revolutionary steadfastness and are not ideologically prepared for a long and arduous struggle for the revolutionary cause. After the victory of the revolution when they had "become officials," they became gradually divorced from the people. They also became bureaucratic and arrogant, liked to be flattered, lost their revolutionary fervor and craved for pleasure. Third, some people have joined the party out of ulterior motives, or for "personal gains." Some bad elements have also wormed their way into the party. This shows, after all, the presence in the party of some wavering elements who, in a peaceful environment, may be hit by various types of material or mental "sugar-coated bullets." We must be soberly aware of the new test confronting the party after it is in power.

Historical experiences in party building have shown that our party has grown up in the struggle between corrosion and counter-corrosion. During the Northern Expedition, when we cooperated with the bourgeoisie, there was the capitulationist tendency toward handing over the leadership of revolution to the Kuomintang. During the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression, when we once again became associated with the bourgeoisie, some people in the party thought it would be a glory for them to go over to the Kuomintang government to become officials. In the early post-liberation period, when we were carrying out the policy of utilization, restriction and transformation toward national capitalism in order to quickly restore and develop the national economy, some party members and cadres in the party and government were defeated at the onslaught of the bourgeoisie with "sugar-coated" bullets, resulting in corruption, waste, bureaucratism, and other wrong trends. Some of them were even dragged into hot water and degenerated into bourgeois agents. That was why Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The building of the CCP was in a large measure due to the development and steeling in our union and struggle with the bourgeoisie." Today, when the situation of class struggle has undergone a fundamental change, we cannot relax our vigilance in the anticorruption struggle simply because the exploiting classes have been eliminated as classes. This vigilance is particularly necessary under the new historical conditions when we are adopting the policy of opening our doors to foreign countries and enlivening the economy at home. If our party can promptly wage a struggle against capitalist corrosion and for preserving the purity of communism, it will mean a big step forward in the work of party-building.

## PARTY AND STATE

### NEW MEANING OF CLASS VIEWPOINT EXAMINED

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 19 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by Xiao Yu [5618 7183]: "Youth Must Have Class Viewpoint"]

[Text] Comrade Editors: A controversy erupted in our branch of the CYL while we were debating whether we must have a class viewpoint or not. Some comrades believe that we must now concentrate our energy on the four modernizations construction. As for any class viewpoint, once class struggle is emphasized, the error of "class struggle as the key link" can be repeated. Some disagree with this view, stating that class struggle exists objectively and that wherever class struggle exists, there must be class viewpoint. Both views are locked in stalemate, so I've written to you in the hope that you will explain which understanding is correct.

Yu Yanyan [0060 3601 3601]

Comrade Yu Yanyan: The editorial section of the ZHEJIANG RIBAO passed your letter on to me. The issue you are debating has much practical significance. Here, I'll give for your consideration my own opinion.

First, I should clarify the meaning of the class viewpoint that we are talking about today. What it refers to is this: we must maintain a proletarian stand, uphold the four basic principles, resist the decadence of bourgeois ideas and the vestigial ideas of feudalism, and eliminate the influence of every kind of wrong thinking. We must not uphold any of the "total dictatorship" and "dictatorship of one class over another" from the past.

We must soberly see that although the exploiting class has been eliminated in our nation, its ideology, morals and ethics, and old customs and bad habits have not disappeared. They can still exist for some time and continue to corrode us. At the same time, various criminals and criminal activities still abound in society. Thus, only by firmly acquiring a clear-cut class viewpoint can it be possible to resist consciously the ideology of the exploiting class, sharply point out crime, and staunchly struggle against criminal elements. On the contrary, if the class viewpoint of some people is hazy and their ideology has been disarmed, they can be struck down by "sugarcoated bullets" and can be corrupted by bourgeois ideas to the extent that they will take the road of crime. Although for the time being some



people have not yet degenerated into being offenders against the people, their souls already reek of decay. They are bent on nothing but profit, they indulge in luxury and extravagance, they have become vulgar, decadent, and hollow, and in reality have already fallen captive to the bourgeoisie. There are many of these bitter lessons. Therefore, we must thoroughly understand that strengthening class viewpoint is truly essential for resisting the corrosive influence of the ideology of the exploiting class and for upholding the four basic principles. It is also indispensable for fostering a new era of socialism and achieving the great cause of the four modernizations. We happily notice that from the ranks of youths on every front, many outstanding figures have come to the fore whose class viewpoint is firm and who have consciously resisted corruption and acquired new habits. They should be the models for our many youths.

Here, I would also like to mention in passing that because youths do not have a deep understanding of China's past and present, they lack a comprehensive thorough understanding of actual domestic and international class struggle. Their thinking is rather active but simple, so they particularly need to regard the strengthening of class viewpoint as their own required course. This will cause their insight, analytical skills, and abilities to withstand corruption to improve daily so they can truly bear the heavy responsibility of building the four modernizations. I recently came upon this story: Two sisters had widely different opinions of a "ladies man" who threw his money around. The older sister was very suspicious of an ordinary worker who recklessly spent freely. Consequently, she reported the situation to the department concerned. The younger sister believed that this easy manner was charming and a good image. She secretly adored him. Ultimately, this "ladies man" was arrested for larceny, and the two sisters were left with their own thoughts. I feel that this is a most instructive story. It explains the necessity of young people strengthening their class viewpoint. In real life we, too, can come across many similar true stories, so it would be well if we pay attention to drawing the proper useful lesson.

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CSO: 4005/1141

## PARTY AND STATE

### IMPORTANCE OF MATERIAL, CULTURAL CIVILIZATION STRESSED

Guangzhou GUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 8 Jul 82 p 4

[Editorial: "Strive for New Victories for the Two Civilizations--Warm Greetings for the Successful Conclusion of the Second Session of the Seventh Guangzhou Municipal People's Congress"]

[Text] Thanks to the common efforts of the deputies, the Second Session of the Seventh Guangzhou Municipal People's Congress successfully concluded yesterday after completing the various tasks as planned. We extend our warm greetings for its successful conclusion.

More than 9 months have elapsed since the First Session of the Seventh Municipal People's Congress. The municipality has continued to develop both politically and economically, and there is now a gratifying sight everywhere in both cities and the countryside. After completing last year's national economic plans fairly well, we did even better in the first half of this year by showing some increase over the same period last year and achieving better economic results. The people's livelihood has also improved along with the development of production. We have gained initial success in combating serious economic crimes, while smuggling, selling smuggled goods, graft, bribery, speculation, swindling and other criminal activities have abated. Law-abiding and integrity in the performance of official duties have been commended. The "five stresses and four points of beauty" campaign has shown remarkable results, as shown by the great improvement in the city's appearance, environments and sanitary conditions in the great southern gate of the motherland. Public security has also improved while social order has been further stabilized. All these are the result of the implementation of the lines, principles and policies of the party since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and the struggle in unity by all the people in the municipality.

The present important task before all the people of the municipality is to implement the various tasks laid down by the municipal party committee early this year, and the resolutions of this session; to strive for both material and spiritual civilization; to carry out the principles of the leading role of the planned economy and the supplementary role of market regulation and of "first, feed the people and second, build the country." They should also improve their business management, practise economy, tap resources, and strive to fulfill or over-fulfill all the tasks according to this year's national economic plans.

To complete these tasks, they should have "two steadfastnesses": the steadfastness in upholding the policy of opening our doors to the outside world and enlivening the economy at home on the one hand and the steadfastness in opposing the corrosive effects of capitalist ideology on the other. Under new historical conditions since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, we have adopted the policy of opening our doors to the outside world and enlivening the economy at home. The implementation of this policy is very necessary and correct. At present, while upholding this policy, we should conscientiously sum up our experiences and conduct careful investigations and study in the problems that have cropped up. We must not doubt this policy as soon as there is any problem, and then go back to our old ways. We must also realize that because of the interference and sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and the influence of the decadent capitalist ideology as a result of our proximity to Hong Kong and Macao, economic crimes in our municipality are serious. If we do not keep up our struggle against the corrosion from capitalist ideology, it will be difficult for us to implement, smoothly and correctly, the policy of opening our doors to the outside world and enlivening the economy at home. This struggle is in fact an important aspect of socialist spiritual civilization; and socialist material and spiritual civilization promote, supplement and act on each other. We must not only thoroughly understand the strategic significance of the policy of opening our doors to the outside world and enlivening the economy at home, but also steadfastly carry it out and be courageous in practice and making innovations. At the same time, we must also be soberly aware of the complex nature of the new conditions we now encounter. We must be good at learning new skills and be prompt in discovering and overcoming the various negative factors that may jeopardize our cause. We must have the "two steadfastnesses" before the "two civilizations" can be further developed.

To win new victory for the "two civilizations," we should also mobilize all the positive factors and give full play to the wisdom and ability of all the people in the municipality. Therefore, while vigorously strengthening our ideological and political work, we should further implement the party's various policies. At present, it is particularly important that we should carefully implement all the party's specific policies on the intellectuals and on the united front. We must continue to overcome the "leftist" ideas on the question of the way to treat intellectuals so that we can truly trust them politically, boldly put them to work, pay attention to their livelihood, and gradually improve their conditions of work and living. At present, while carefully taking care of the old intellectuals, we should cherish and be concerned with the middle-age intellectuals. Leaders at all levels should further enhance their understanding on this question. The middle-age intellectuals amounts to approximately 70 percent of all intellectuals in the municipality. They were brought up by our party and the people themselves and have had long practical experiences. The majority of them are backbone elements on various fronts; and in work, they are inheriting the skills of their predecessors and will pass them on to their successors. They will have to shoulder heavy responsibilities in many tasks. Therefore, the solution of the difficulties and problems concerning middle-age intellectuals has a strong bearing on our present and future undertakings. Although we cannot have many financial resources to solve these problems, we should always bear it in mind and include it in the agenda of our important meetings. We should conscientiously study and arrange for its solution, and, if conditions permit, truly help them solve some real problems.

To meet the requirements of the "two civilizations," we must further strengthen democracy and the legal system, and the building the local political power organs at various levels, overcome bureaucratism, and increase work efficiency. The streamlining of the municipal structure will begin next year in accordance with the plans of the State Council. However, the rectification and improvement of our work style cannot wait until next year. Right now, we must solve two problems: first, to set a good example in the "two civilizations," and second, to establish and perfect a system of job responsibility for all workers, so that all work can be traced to the responsibility of individuals. We must responsibly complete all work according to our duty, and do a good job of whatever has been assigned to us by the higher authorities. The reports and requests for instructions from the lower levels must be promptly handled. We must be able to work conscientiously, correctly and speedily.

To build a good Guangzhou Municipality is the common task of 5.5 million people in the municipality. Let us rally closely around the party central committee; and, under the guidance of the Guangzhou Municipal Party Committee and the municipal people's government, let us unite as one, pluck up our courage with one mind and one heart, advance bravely, and strive to complete all the tasks for this year in order to win new victories for the "two civilizations" and to greet the opening of the 12th National Party Congress and the Fifth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress!

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CSO: 4005/1165

## PARTY AND STATE

### EDITORIAL GREETES OPENING OF GUANGZHOU CPPCC COMMITTEE

Guangzhou GUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 20 Jul 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Give Full Play to the Important Role of Our Municipal CPPCC Committee--Greetings for the Opening of the Second Session of the Fifth CPPCC Committee in Guangzhou Municipality"]

[Text] The Second Plenary Session of the Fifth Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference has opened in triumph. This is a distinguished meeting held in an excellent situation of smooth political and economic development in our municipality.

At the meeting, the committee members will further discuss the Draft of the Revised Constitution of the Chinese People's Republic, or the state's fundamental law; discuss the Draft of the Revised Regulations of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference so as to further clarify the character, tasks, functions, and work orientation of the CPPCC; review the work done since the First Session of the Fifth Committee and discuss the future tasks; attend the Seventh Municipal People's Congress and hear and discuss the report on the work of the government; and suggest plans for promoting the material and spiritual civilization in the municipality. The success of this meeting will further develop the important role being played by the municipal committee of the CPPCC. We hope the committee members will freely air their views and combine their efforts to make this meeting a great success!

The CPPCC is an important component of the united front and have played important historical roles. It will further develop its important role in carrying out the socialist modernization, in preserving the country's unity and unification, and in the struggle to maintain world peace. On the basis of cherishing the Chinese People's Republic, and supporting the leadership of the CCP and the socialist cause politically, the CPPCC should further expand the patriotic united front, mobilize all positive factors, preserve and develop political unity and stability and strive to fulfill the basic task of people of various nationalities in our country.

The present political and economic situation in our municipality, like those in the province and the country, is continuing to improve. The municipal CPPCC Committee should conduct political consultations on such important questions as the cardinal policies of the state and the municipality, the material and spiritual civilization, and the living conditions of the broad masses, all centering

around the central tasks put forward by the municipal party committee and the municipal government. It should also give play to its democratic supervision through their comments and suggestions. Our municipality is the southern gateway of the motherland with frequent domestic and foreign contacts, and a fairly large number of intellectuals, people of various democratic parties and groups, nonparty democratic personages, former industrialists and traders, former Kuomintang personnel who have revolted and crossed over, national minority people of the higher level, patriotic religious personages, Taiwan compatriots, dependents of those who have gone to Taiwan, returned overseas Chinese and people from various quarters. They are comparatively better educated, and have a wide range of social connections and the ardent desire to work for the motherland. The municipal CPPCC Committee should take full advantage of this strong point, mobilize the resources from various quarters, and give full play to the committee members' practical accomplishments, technical and vocational know-how, special ability in production and management, and practical experiences in all types of work. It should also strengthen our ties with the Taiwan compatriots, the Hong Kong and Macao compatriots, and the overseas Chinese living abroad so that they can all join their efforts in contributing to the great cause of the motherland's construction and unification, in carrying out the special policies and flexible measures of the province, and in accelerating the four modernizations in the municipality.

The party committees at all levels should continue to implement the spirit of the national and provincial conference on the work of the united front, and the policy of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" in the relations between the CCP and the various democratic parties, and conscientiously carry out the various specific policies on the united front. The communist party members must form the relationship of "treating each other with all sincerity and sharing weal or woe" with nonparty friends. This is a serious political task in arousing enthusiasm in various quarters. The municipal CPPCC Committee should adopt various forms of communications to exchange information and views frequently with the committee members, and people of various democratic parties, mass organizations, and various circles, to learn from one another and to readjust or handle the relationships among various parties of the united front. It should keep the party and the government well informed of the opinions of the people in various circles concerning the implementation of policies or other problems so that the party's united front policy will be more effectively implemented. This will help to mobilize all positive factors and to unite all those who can be united.

The task of socialist modernization is a great, glorious and arduous one. We firmly believe that under the leadership of the municipal CCP Committee, all CPPCC Committee members, all democratic parties, all mass organizations, and all patriotic forces can certainly be closely united in implementing with one mind and one heart the lines, principles and policies adopted after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and make their new contributions in gradually turning our municipality into a flourishing, cultured, stable and beautiful socialist modern city.

## PARTY AND STATE

### LEADERSHIP URGED TO DEAL PERSONALLY WITH ECONOMIC CRIMES

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 25 Jul 82 p 1

[Article: "First and Second in Command in Party Committees Must Personally Deal With Major Cases"]

[Text] In order to strengthen the leadership in their struggle to combat crimes and to spur it on to greater heights, the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee convened a general meeting on the 23d of this month for party committees and party organizations above the district, county and bureau level and for the principle cadres in responsible positions in the Commission on the Inspection of Discipline and in leading groups that are involved in the struggle to combat economic crimes.

The conference was attended by Hu Lijiao [7579 4539 2403], the second secretary of the municipal CPC committee; Wang Daohan [3076 6670 3211], mayor and secretary of the municipal CPC committee; Han Zheyi [7281 0772 0001], deputy mayor and secretary of the municipal CPC committee; Shong Min [6988 3046], secretary of the municipal CPC committee; Zhen Jinhua [7115 6930 5478], deputy secretary of the municipal CPC committee and deputy mayor; and Wang Yaoshan [3769 1031 1472], leader of the preparatory group of the municipal CPC committee's Commission on the Inspection of Discipline.

The conference was chaired by Comrade Hu Lijiao. At the conference, Comrade Wang Daohan conveyed the gist of the recent related meeting of the Central Committee. Based on the views discussed by standing committee members of the municipal CPC committee, Comrade Wang Yaoshan drew up plans for the municipality to study conscientiously and implement the spirit of the related meeting of the Central Committee, to concentrate on major and important cases and to give further impetus to the struggle. Comrade Hu Lijiao gave a major speech at the conference.

At the conference, Comrade Wang Yaoshan said that during the 18 June meeting of party members and cadres, the municipal CPC committee made realistic evaluations, plans and measures for Shanghai's struggle against serious economic crimes. They had basically implemented the spirit of the various directives from the Central Committee and the struggle was steadily advancing. However, the development of the struggle was still uneven. The leadership in a handful of units did not have a complete understanding of the significance



of this struggle. They did not give it sufficient attention and their measures were ineffective. They have been lagging behind in the struggle. Certain individuals have not even addressed themselves to the agenda of the party committee; there is little evidence of participation in the struggle. They have been successful in investigating and handling major cases yet there are still inadequacies. The rate of progress in investigating and handling major cases that have already been disclosed, particularly the rate of progress in concluding cases, is relatively slow. There is a lack of in-depth investigation in major cases involving leading cadres. Certain responsible cadres in certain leading departments have an inadequate understanding of the importance of investigation and handling major cases in achieving a victory in this struggle. As for the matter of leading cadres who are implicated in these cases, they are unwilling and do not dare to deal with them. They are afraid of giving offense and of being subjected to attacks in retaliation, etc.

In order to implement the gist of the related conference of the Central Committee, we must earnestly study and implement each directive of the Central Committee and the spirit of related conferences. We must contrast and examine every item, confirm our successes, see where we lag behind, focus on the key matter of major cases and spur on this struggle. The leadership at all levels must uphold the principle of seeking truth from facts. They must carry out penetrating investigations and studies, earnestly analyze and arrange problems in order of importance, get control of the situation and objectively and calmly find ways to conceal loopholes and clarify conditions in serious criminal cases. They must get to know what is really going on. As for cases involving leading cadres which have already been disclosed, it is necessary to focus on conducting checks and verifications. When investigating and dealing with major cases, the first and second in command in party committees and party organizations at all levels must personally assume command, take a personal interest in the matter, listen to reports and study guidance. They must also spur on the struggle, help the lower levels to surmount difficulties and eliminate obstacles. It is necessary to appoint competent people to investigate and handle major cases and to either strengthen instruction or make appropriate readjustments for those who lack enthusiasm and have all sorts of personal problems. It is necessary to rely on the masses and follow the mass line in investigating and dealing with major cases. In order to concentrate on these major cases we must mobilize the masses in a planned and directed way. We must also do painstaking work in getting to know all the facts of the case and accurately publicize the law and party policies.

After reviewing the conditions of the struggle to combat serious economic crimes during the previous period, Comrade Hu Lijian said that the standing committee of the municipal CPC committee recently studied the gist of the Central Committee's related conference. They listened to the report on conditions of the deepening struggle against serious economic crimes since the conference convened on 18 June for party members and cadres throughout the municipality. Based on the spirit of the Central Committee's related conference, they earnestly discussed further strengthening the leadership, concentrating on major cases and spurring on plans to increase the struggle.

We must have an adequate understanding of the protracted nature, complexity and arduousness of this struggle and we must fully appreciate that, in the past, Shanghai was a paradise for adventurers. Under the new historical conditions, the pernicious influence of capitalist ideology has been severe. We are inundated with evil elements and the dregs of old society. Shanghai is also the place where the "gang of four" rose to power. After the smashing of the "gang of four," some remaining elements of the "gang of four" engaged in illegal criminal economic activities and vainly attempted to stage a comeback. Under no circumstances should we lower our guard. Finally, he went on to stress the importance at the present time of investigating and handling major cases. Moreover, he announced the decision of the municipal CPC committee. According to the system of separate control, standing committee members of the municipal CPC committee (including the first secretary and the deputy secretary) must personally take up work in investigating and dealing with one or two major cases. The first and second in command in the municipal CPC committee, in municipal government ministries, committees and offices and in district, county and bureau party committees (party organizations) must also take a personal interest in major cases. They must strive to attain even greater results in this struggle within the next 2 months.

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CSO: 4005/1156

## PARTY AND STATE

### ESSAY ON OPEN DOOR POLICY

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 18 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by Zhu Shengqing [2612 4141 1987]: "Fire--City Gate--Disaster"]

[Text] It is that time in spring when trees are green and grass is long. Orioles caw and fish jump. The "inner city" is alive. However, fire prevention has been slack, and from the city gate arise whiffs of smoke from the fire of smuggling and peddling, bribery and graft, and speculation and fraud.

Some people are full of misgivings about this, blaming everyone and everything but themselves and saying that the "city gate" must not be opened. Their reason is this: when the gate is open, wind blows in, and when the wind blows in, fire flares up. Actually, our aim in opening the "city gate" is to secure the economic cooperation of foreign businessmen, develop foreign trade, and import advanced technology in order to obtain wealth for the "city" and make the "fish" fat. Moreover, it has already happened, so what is there against it? To be sure, when the gate is wide open, traffic flows in and out, and good and bad people mix together. If some people throw their cigarette butts by the city gate, then there is the suspicion that fire will indeed break out. However, we must never seal the gate, shut the doors, and spin a cocoon around ourselves because we dread a tiny spark. The "city gate," then, must be opened. The problem is being careful about fire. Fire prevention methods must be improved. Without exception, combustible "dangerous goods" must be strictly prohibited from being brought into the city. Even if one smoldering cigarette ash is found, it must be stamped out.

On the basis of investigation, the disaster of fire breaking out essentially does not come from outside the city. Those who like to play with fire either live up on the city gate tower or are hidden below the base of the city wall, live deep within the city, or stand in welcome at the side of the city gate, and are in collusion with those in the upper and lower ranks and those on the inside and the outside. When they see money their eyes turn red with greed, but the city catches fire and there is the utter disaster of a spreading fire.

Although at present this is not a rampaging fire that lights up the sky and is out of control, nevertheless, it will spread if it is not extinguished at once, and there is the danger that the city will burn and the fish will die.

Thus, we can neither look on unconcernedly and treat it lightly, nor can we tremble with fear and be at a loss as to what to do. We must go through fire and water and fight bravely in the front ranks. Indeed, after summoning all our courage we must still pay attention to strategy. There are large, bright fires and small, weak fires, and each must be dealt with separately. We must be firm in attaining stability and be bold in being thorough. If the fire is huge and fierce, then use high pressure jet water hoses; if it is small and weak, fire extinguishers and hydrants can then be used. If oil is in the fire, suppress it by covering it with crushed stone and yellow sand. Those who play with fire to this day have not yet waked up to reality, and of those in the upper and lower ranks who are in collusion, the upper ranks will be punished first; of those on the inside and outside who are in collusion, the insiders will be dealt with first. This is a new fire control technique given to us under the new historical conditions.

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CSO: 4005/1141

## PARTY AND STATE

### SUPPORT GIVEN TO REVISED DRAFT CONSTITUTION

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 25 Jul 82 p 1

[Article: "Discussion on the CPPCC's Revised Draft Constitution"]

[Text] Yesterday morning the 5th standing committee of the Municipal Political Consultative Conference held their 22d conference. They conveyed the gist of the 19th conference of the 5th standing committee of the CPPCC and discussed the "CPPCC's Revised Draft Constitution."

Zhang Chengzong [1728 2110 1350], vice chairman of the Municipal Political Consultative Conference presided over the conference. Li Gancheng [2621 1626 2052], Jing Renqiu [7231 0117 4428], Lu Yudao [4151 0060 6670], Liu Liangmo [0491 5328 2875], Wang Zhizhong [3769 5268 0022], Yang Xuanwu [2799 1357 2976], Xu Wensi [6079 2429 1835] and standing committee members of the Municipal Political Consultative Conference attended the conference. Committee members of the CPPCC in Shanghai and the various municipal democratic parties as well as leading cadres in district and county political consultative conferences were invited to attend.

After the conference heard Zhou Gucheng [0719 6253 1004], standing committee member of the CPPCC, convey the gist of the 19th conference of the CPPCC's 5th standing committee, they discussed the "CPPCC's Revised Draft Constitution." Speeches were given by Chen Mingshan [7115 6900 3790], Xie Guanghua [6200 0342 5478], Xu Yifang [1776 0110 2658], Sang Hu [2718 1721], Ma Renbin [7456 0086 2430], Dong Yinchu [5516 1377 0443], Zhong Zhengzhai [6988 2973 7872], Chen Linxiang [7115 2651 4382], Liu Liangmo and Wu Ruolan [0702 5387 1344]. They unanimously agreed that the CPPCC draft construction summed up China's work experience on the united front and in the people's political consultative conference. It reflects the need for the participation of people from all walks of life in the establishment of the four modernizations and the need for bringing about national unification. The conference listened to the description of the organization of committee members to discuss amending the "CPPCC's Revised Draft Constitution" given by Jing Renqiu, the vice chairman of the Municipal Political Consultative Conference and secretary general. They then unanimously endorsed "Suggestions on Implementing the Resolutions of the CPPCC's Standing Committee and Organizing Committee Members to Discuss Amending the CPPCC's Revised Draft Constitution." In the "Suggestions" it is required that once earnest discussions are held among committee members

in the Shanghai CPPCC and among the municipal, district and county political consultative conferences and once views on revisions have been presented and assembled by the staff office of the Municipal Political Consultative Conference, they must make a report to the CPPCC committee for revising the constitution before the end of September.

At the end of the conference, Comrade Zheng Chengzong gave a talk saying that he fully agreed with the "CPPCC's Revised Draft Constitution." The draft was well written, particularly the general program in which the CPPCC's character, duties and status as well as the political basis of democratic consultation were described. It sums up the history and practices of more than 30 years. His constitution is clearer, more complete and more perfect than the original. We should hold conscientious discussions and present our opinions on the revisions.

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CSO: 4005/1156

## PARTY AND STATE

### PARTY MEMBERS' ROLE IN STRUGGLE AGAINST CORRUPTION VIEWED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 24 Jul 82 p 1

[Article: "CCP Members Must Stand in the Forefront of the Struggle Against Corruption"]

[Text] It is most encouraging to see that a large number of exemplary CCP members have come to the fore on every front of this city. A distinctive common ground in their communist ideology and exemplary deeds is that, under new historical conditions and in complex circumstances, they consciously enhance their party spirit and resist corruption, never to be tinged by it. They are known to the masses as "CCP members who cannot be struck down by sugarcoated bullets," "iron gates that cannot be breached by unhealthy trends and bad practices," and "trustworthy leading figures of the four modernizations construction."

In the face of being corrupted by the capitalist ideology, they will either keep cool heads, maintain a firm proletarian stand, remember well that the fundamental purpose of this party is to serve the people wholeheartedly, and always use communist ideology to guide their actions, or they will lose faith, be ignorant, drift with the tide, and forget their personal integrity under temptation of personal gain, to such an extent that they will degenerate into corruption. This cannot but be a rigorous test for each of our CCP members.

The Central Committee has once again exhorted the entire party that, under new historical conditions, it must fully understand the severity and danger of being corrupted by the capitalist ideology. Judging from already exposed situations, bourgeois liberalization trends have emerged in the many spheres of our nation's socialist life. The decadent ideology of capitalism and bourgeois ways of life have considerably corrupted the ranks of our party and poisoned the public mood. Some CCP members and state cadres have taken the road of crime, becoming involved in bribery and graft, smuggling and peddling, and speculation and fraud. The time has certainly been short, yet there are indeed many party members and cadres who have been shot down into the water by "sugarcoated bullets." This illustrates that the present problem is essentially the infiltration of and corruption by the capitalist ideology. Just as the Central Committee has emphasized, this struggle to crack down on severe crime in the economic realm is "a struggle to oppose being corrupted by the capitalist ideology." It has clearly affirmed the class nature of this struggle and under present conditions has accurately taken hold of the special feature of this struggle against corruption.



Our comrades must think deeply and look ahead at the problems opposing being corrupted by capitalist ideology. Some comrades have pointed out that "the entire party is now concentrating its main forces on the four modernizations construction, so why must it launch a struggle to oppose corruption?" The Central Committee has formulated the correct lines, principles, and policies since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. Major governmental policies have already been set and are now being essentially implemented. If they are to be well implemented, it is thus required that party organizations at all levels have a formidable fighting strength. If this fighting strength is not formidable, then the party's lines, principles, and policies cannot be carried out correctly, and then any matter cannot be handled easily and be done well. Carrying out the struggle to oppose being corrupted by the capitalist ideology will promote party practices and spur on fundamental improvements in the practices of the people and the public mood, will overcome interference and remove obstacles in the course of implementing the party's correct line, will ensure that the modernization construction will be successfully carried out, and will build our party into a strong nucleus of leadership for the four modernizations constructions that will be more politically mature, more ideologically pure, and more organizationally strong.

Viewed as a whole, our party is good and is ready to fight. However, at the same time, it must be noticed that there are some elements within our party whose communist world view is poor and whose revolutionary will is slack. They cannot withstand the encroachment and influence of capitalism's decadent ideology and bourgeois way of life. Their faith in communism and its ideals has wavered and they have come to use the illicit trickery of unhealthy tendencies. Their minds have swelled with out-and-out individualism, the seeking of pleasure, and other malignant ideologies, so much so that some people have been stricken by "sugarcoated bullets" and have taken the road of corruption. Their crimes are essentially not similar to being directly hit by the "sugarcoated bullets" of the capitalists in the "three anti's" era, but are the outcome of being corrupted by the decadent ideology of capitalism. When this ideology attacks the fighting CCP, those within the party with capitalist ideas are also affected. This harsh reality tells us that, since our party belongs to a society in which class struggle still exists within certain spheres, it is unavoidable that it will be affected by nonproletarian ideologies. It is particularly so after having undergone 10 years of upheaval in which party organizations were severely damaged and the political quality of party members was inferior to that prior to the "Cultural Revolution." In addition, education within the party not having kept pace, poor supervision of party members and cadres, lax and feeble leadership, and other causes provided the opportunity for the invasion of the capitalist ideology. To summarize the lessons and experiences of history, only by launching a struggle against corruption can the building up of the party be strengthened and its fighting power be enhanced. Thus, in the entire new historical period we must regard the struggle to oppose being corrupted by the capitalist ideology as a prerequisite for triumphantly carrying out the four modernizations construction, regard it as a long-term task, and regard it as affecting the preservation of the party's political, ideological, and organizational purity. Strengthening the party's leadership for the "two civilizations" construction, a major event of decisive significance, is a vital issue to which the party in power must always pay attention. In regard to this major

event concerning the overall situation, each of our CCP members must have sufficient understanding and must consciously stand in the forefront of the struggle against corruption.

Some comrades also believe that our work is tolerable, that we only touch lightly upon economic problems, and that opposing corruption is out of our bounds. This understanding is also one-sided. Contradictions and struggles between proletarian and nonproletarian ideologies constantly exist within the party. Party organizations consolidate and expand by unceasingly surmounting nonproletarian ideologies and CCP members also enhance their party spirit by constantly eliminating the effects of those ideologies. At present, our tough crackdown on severe crime in the economic realm is not only to ferret out and deal with some criminal cases but, more importantly, is to demonstrate that launching this struggle and arming the vast party members, cadres, and masses with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought will constantly enhance their political and ideological awareness and will strengthen their abilities to recognize and resist the capitalist ideology, residual effects of feudalism, and other decadent ideologies and ways of life. This is one of the most practical and effective measures of consolidating party organizations and rectifying work under present conditions. In this struggle, each of our CCP members must receive a thorough Marxist education in the areas of party spirit, party practices, and party discipline, and each must understand that under any circumstances a CCP member must preserve the purity of communism, uphold and develop the fine traditions of the party, and persist in using the ideological system of communist to guide his actions. Each member certainly must not lower the standards of CCP members, certainly cannot go against the requirements of the "Guiding Principles For Inner-Party Political Life," certainly must not be tainted by all forms of the capitalist ideology, and most certainly cannot permit corruption. In considering whether a CCP member is qualified and has ideologically joined the party, we should primarily notice if that member has the party spirit of a communist. We must construct a socialist spiritual civilization; and, for each of our CCP members, the emphasis on party spirit and handling matters on the principle of party spirit is the highest embodiment of that spiritual civilization. In the struggle against corruption, each CCP member must consciously strengthen his party spirit and must always measure himself by the standards for CCP members. If he falls short somewhere, what will happen in the future? Each member must always measure himself by the requirements of the "Guiding Principles" and go into action beginning with the self, beginning now and with each matter. Each member must always take up the weapon of criticism and self-criticism and resolutely struggle against all ideologies and actions that harm the party and the interests of the people. Undergoing ideological education and putting training into practice will enable each party member to increase unceasingly his ideological level and enhance his political awareness, constantly play the exemplary vanguard role of CCP member, and become a leading figure in constructing the "two civilizations." If the grave task of strengthening party spirit is placed before each of our CCP members, can we ignore it and not actively throw ourselves into the struggle against corruption? Of course we cannot.

At the conference on exemplary party members that was convened yesterday, a proposal was put forth to CCP members throughout the city: welcome the party's 12 convocations with practical actions. This proposal expresses the fervent

hopes of CCP members throughout the city for the upholding of the four basic principles, carrying forward the "two civilizations" construction, and improving the party's fighting strength. It also expresses the strong determination in further launching the struggle against corruption. We believe that with the joint efforts of the vast CCP members, we can surely raise the Shanghai party organization to a new level and can surely unite and lead the people of the entire city, bring about major achievements, and welcome the party's 12 great convocations that are of major significance.

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CSO: 4005/1155

PARTY AND STATE

LEADING CADRES, INTELLECTUALS FRIENDSHIP ENCOURAGED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 29 Jul 82 p 3

[Article: "Leading Cadres in Anhui Province Make Friends With Intellectuals"]

[Text] Correspondent Sun Xupei [1327 2485 1014] reported that in order to successfully carry out work and inspection on intellectuals, Zhou Zijian [0719 1311 0256], acting first secretary of the Anhui CPC Committee, recommended that standing committee members of the provincial CPC committee all make friends with two or three intellectuals. They must regularly maintain close ties with them and listen attentively to their views and demands. From the beginning of June to the end of July the vast majority of standing committee members and the deputy governor held heart to heart talks with one or two and as many as three or five intellectuals. Among them were high ranking intellectuals and middle-aged scientific and technical key personnel. Twelve leading comrades have already written reports to the provincial CPC committee on the circumstances and experiences of their heart to heart talks with intellectuals.

Leading cadres either personally paid visits on intellectuals or dispatched a vehicle to fetch them for heart to heart talks. As a result, many intellectuals were deeply moved and spoke from the bottom of their hearts which they could not always do at general meetings. In their talks, they confirmed that since the party's third plenary session Anhui had achieved remarkable results in implementing policies regarding intellectuals, particularly in redressing and properly handling unjust and misjudged cases, suiting jobs to special training rather than having unqualified people on the job and advertising for the introducing technical talent. At the same time, they have also laid bare many concrete facts which indicate that in a fair number of departments and units "leftist" ideology has not yet been overcome. Not enough attention has been given to intellectuals. Moreover, the phenomena of political unease, lack of initiative in work and lack of concern about the quality of life still exist in varying degrees. Having heard the cry of intellectuals, some leading comrades have engaged in direct heart to heart talks with them. They have been moved more deeply than if they just listened to reports, so that as a result, we have a greater understanding of the urgency of doing a good job in the work concerning intellectuals.

As for the problems concerning intellectuals brought up by the provincial CPC committee and leading comrades of the provincial government, we must actively solve those that can be solved. When Yuan Zhen [5913 2182], secretary of the provincial CPC committee held talks with Zhao Zhusan [6392 4376 0005], deputy chief engineer of the Electric Power Bureau, he became aware of the employment problem among the children of engineers and technicians who worked in electric pumping stations and power stations in remote mountain areas. He immediately got in touch with the provincial labor bureau and decided that in these areas there would be additional quotas providing special consideration as well as the normal recruitment quotas. In view of the difficulties encountered by the chief engineer in the planning office of the Electric Power Bureau which Zhao Zhusan had mentioned, Yuan Zhen consulted with concerned departments and planned to transfer separated family members so that they could be reunited. During his talks with Gui Jilin [2710 1323 2651], engineer at the provincial Medical Bureau, Deputy Governor Guo Tixiang [6753 7555 4382] listened to his proposals to improve the production technology of antibiotics and to upgrade economic benefits. He immediately sought out concerned leaders for consultations and organized their forces to strive to implement this as rapidly as possible.

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CSO: 4005/1139

## PARTY AND STATE

### NOTICE ISSUED ON INSPECTION WORK ON INTELLECTUALS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 26 Jul 82 p 1

[Article: "Discouraging Slipshod Inspection Work on Intellectuals"]

[Text] Correspondents Bi Chuanyong [3968 0278 3057] and Luo Maocheng [5012 5399 1004] reported that in the middle of last month the Sichuan CPC Committee's office in charge of inspection work on intellectuals issued a notice which recommended that each locality and department guard against slipshod work in inspecting intellectuals. They also urged that the investigation reports of each region focus on discussing which problems have arisen during this inspection, how many have been resolved, how they've been resolved and future plans for solving existing problems.

The inspection team organized by the Sichuan CPC Committee conducted inspections in every region. They found out that most localities and units were conscientious and efficient in their inspection work on intellectuals. However, they also discovered that some units had not gone down to the basic levels to get a thorough understanding of existing problems nor did they listen to the views of intellectuals. They simply reported to the authorities on past circumstances that have already been brought under control. They spent much time discussing work that had been done since the third plenary session while they barely discussed those problems which were unearthed and resolved during the inspection. In order that inspection work on intellectuals really meet the expected requirements, the time period originally allotted for inspection was extended and the provincial CPC committee set seven criteria. First, the views and circumstances of intellectuals must basically be made known. Second, problems that have been discovered must be comprehensively analyzed and studied. Third, as for problems that appeared during inspection, those that can be solved must be solved or a decision made. Fourth, regulations and measures for continuing to solve problems must be carried out. Fifth, problems that could be solved by the authorities must be reported to higher authorities. Sixth, they must have already completed work on clarifying problems that should not or could not be solved. Seventh, party committees and leading cadres at all levels must have improved their understanding of work regarding intellectuals. They must have strengthened their ties with intellectuals and have people in charge of this work.

## PARTY AND STATE

### RELATION OF ECONOMIC CRIMES, OPEN POLICIES DISCUSSED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 18 Jul 82 p 4

[Commentary by Shui Mu [3055 3668]: "A Thought on Reading 'Death Place'"]

[Text] In 1935 a professor at Beijing University suffered a sudden stroke while lecturing and died in the classroom. Afterward, Professor Qian Xuantong, chairman of the Chinese Department of Beijing Normal University, was afraid of following in the other professor's footsteps. Thereafter, he never conducted a class. Lu Xun wrote an essay on this subject called "Death Place," and drew upon a joke from Japan to make his criticism. According to the joke, a prince knew that a fisherman's father had died at sea. He asked the fisherman: "Aren't you afraid to keep going out to sea?" The fisherman was silent, and then asked where the prince's father had died. The reply was that he had died at home. The fisherman then asked in return: "Aren't you afraid to sit in your home?" Lu Xun said that there have certainly been far fewer professors who have died in the classroom than professors who have died at home. Then he too asked: "Aren't you afraid to sit in your home?" (see "Addendum to the Collection Outside of the Collection": "Death Place")

After reading this some thoughts occurred to me.

Since our party has implemented the open policy toward foreign countries and the policies to enliven the domestic economy, some dregs have been stirred up and criminal activities like profiteering and smuggling have crept in. On account of this, the party Central Committee and the State Council have issued resolutions concerning cracking down on serious criminal activities in the economic sphere. However, there are some people who say that these things were opened up by the open policy, and brought to life by the enlivening policies. "If I had known it would come to this, I would have acted differently." What is actually meant is that if there had been no open policy and no policies to enliven, then today there would be no need to crack down. The logic of this is very similar to that of Qian Xuantong who thereafter "never conducted a class," because someone had died in the classroom.



When the ancients went traveling, they used their two legs if the distance was short, or a donkey or horse if the distance was long. They traversed mountain after mountain, and crossed rivers and forded streams. The speed was very slow, but we don't hear very much about traffic accidents. Now today we use airplanes or trains if the distance is long, and automobiles, streetcars, or bicycles if the distance is short. However, airplanes have accidents and trains can go off the rails. The cities are crowded, and every day we hear about traffic accidents. Even an old lady sitting by her own door might be struck dead by a driver who breaks the traffic rules. For the sake of absolute safety, we had better abolish airplanes, stop the trains, and seal up the vehicles. Fortunately, nobody has put forward this kind of proposal. Otherwise, as soon as it were seriously implemented, when you were sent to Beijing on business you would have to ride in a horse cart for a few weeks, just like old Confucius on his tour of the feudatories. You would be jolted and bumped until you were sick to your stomach; and yet I still wouldn't guarantee that you would be absolutely safe.

Ever since the open policy toward foreign countries and the policies to enliven the domestic economy were put into effect, for various reasons serious criminal activities in the economic sphere have increased to some extent. However, this state of affairs is, at root, a reflection of the existence of class struggle, within certain limits, over a long period of time. It is a result of the corrosive and destructive effects of decadent bourgeois ideology. The solution is a resolute attack on serious criminal activities in the economic sphere, while at the same time resolutely implementing the open policy toward foreign countries and the policies to enliven the domestic economy. To conclude that serious economic criminal activities have been "opened" up and "enlivened," will probably only lead us back to the old road which we traveled before: Closing the door to foreign intercourse, and deadening the economy. As a result, production will stagnate and the lives of people will become less comfortable. We have all experienced this kind of suffering. I don't imagine that this is what the "I would have acted differently" arguers have in mind!

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## PARTY AND STATE

### 'WEN HUI BAO' ON TREATMENT OF INTELLECTUALS

#### Institute Promotes Non-party Intellectuals

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 15 Jul 82 p 1

[Article by Zhou Zhongliang [0719 1813 5328], Quan Changzhi [0356 2490 1807] and Ke Yiwen [2688 0001 2429]: "Non-party Cadres Have Rights"]

[Text] The Shanghai Municipal Institute of Electro-Mechanics Design has promoted 15 non-party member intellectuals to take up leading posts of the institute and its laboratories (offices). Politically, the institute places full confidence in them. They are appointed to work on appropriate posts having authority of office.

The institute party committee is in support of these non-party intellectuals holding leading posts of the institute and its laboratories to exercise their authority in accordance with their own responsibilities. Senior engineer Huang Yinsheng [7806 0692 3932], after having been promoted to deputy director of the environment protection office, had once appeared to be overcautious. The leading cadres of the party committee, after becoming aware of this fact, enthusiastically encouraged him to boldly take charge of his work and asked him to be as vigorous as he was young, in order to go all out to do his job without fear. The party committee also appointed him member of the technical committee as well as of the "high technology" committee. He felt that party organizations had really placed trust in him, therefore, he dared to speak and act. The disposal of waste water in the process of fiberboard production has been a patent right in foreign countries, but in our country it is a question that remains to be solved. After consulting with concerned designers, he resolutely decided to accept the design mission and went deep into the construction site to make prompt readjustments once technical problems had been discovered. Now it has reached its experimental stage of production.

The institute party committee daringly relies on them to handle important technical problems. Once there was a question on the quality of one item of the imported equipment, and the leadership of the institute designated deputy director Huang Zhenqing [7806 2182 7230] of the metallurgy office to work out a solution. He at first intensively gathered and studied a vast amount of relevant data both domestic and foreign to fully understand the problem of the quality of the imported equipment and then, jointly with other units

concerned, negotiated this matter with foreign businessmen. As a result, the foreign businessmen had no choice but to confess that the quality of the imported equipment was questionable. They finally paid nearly 550,000 yuan worth of spare parts in compensation.

When contradictions emerge in work, the leadership of the institute is resolutely in support of the correct stand of non-party member office directors. Non-party member director Xue Nianzu [5641 1819 4371] of the power office is charged with important tasks. He deems that "strictness" should be the basic principle in handling matters, and the system of "proof-reading twice and examining once" should be conscientiously adhered to. Some comrades complained that he is over rigid and has made excessive demands. In view of the fact that Lao Xue proceeds from the purpose of doing a good job and that his rigidity of manner is quite reasonable, the party branch called on comrades concerned to have a heart-to-heart talk to try to convince them. Meanwhile, the party branch also talked intimately with Lao Xue, expecting him to improve his way of handling matters. With the fervent support of the party branch, Lao Xue's confidence in doing a good job has been strengthened. He began to personally examine the design of all important technical projects and key parts. For instance, more than 40 blueprints of a certain important project once were found to be out of order after the second proof-reading. Lao Xue then examined these blueprints personally one by one late into the night for many days in succession until mistakes in design were corrected.

Thanks to the concern of the party organizations, non-party member intellectuals now have ease of mind and work enthusiastically. In the past, the "record" of the technical information office was incomplete, and books and reference materials were all in a jumble. When a senior engineer was appointed deputy director of this office, responsible comrades of the party committee said to him: "This office is entrusted to you. From now on its future will depend upon you." He found the words heartwarming, and said: "Since the party committee has confidence in me, I must desperately fight a battle such as the ping pong players did." He knows more than one foreign language, so he is able to sort out data of various countries and of different categories, and there are over nearly 10,000 books and a vast amount of data. With the cooperation of the comrades in his office, he has made necessary arrangements to replace old books and reference materials with new ones, and has managed to keep everything in perfect order.

#### Middle-Aged Intellectuals

WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 18 Jul 82 p 1

[Article: "Problems of Middle-Aged Intellectuals"]

[Text] The United Front Work Department of the CCP Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and the eight democratic parties in our city, after conducting an investigation over the past 2 months on the work concerning intellectuals in compliance with the directive of the CCP Central Committee, concluded that, at present, paying close attention to solving the problem of middle-aged intellectuals is a strategic measure to accelerate the process of the four modernizations.

Since mid-April this year, the United Front Work Department of the municipal party committee, besides holding many forums to listen to opinions of non-party member intellectuals and laying stress on investigation and research, has given impetus to the eight democratic parties in the city to carry out an overall investigation on development of implementing the policy concerning middle level intellectuals. One-third of the members of the eight democratic parties in our city are high and middle level intellectuals. All these democratic parties have attached great importance to this investigation and set up a leading group to handle matters concerning intellectuals. More than 100 cadres from these parties have been transferred to work in this group. Chairman Zhao Zukang [6392 4371 1160] of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, Chairman Tan Jiazhen [6151 1367 2823] of the China Democratic League and Chairman Zhou Gucheng [0719 6253 1004] of the China Peasants and Workers Democratic Party have personally participated in investigating activities. They have adopted such methods as holding forums, paying visits to intellectuals and sending out questionnaires to make a thorough investigation of the situation of the work concerning intellectuals in order to heed opinions of intellectuals and to enthusiastically report problems and put forward suggestions to party organizations of the units these intellectuals associate with, and thereby bring the role of these democratic parties into full play.

After investigation, both the United Front Work Department of the municipal party committee and the eight democratic parties agreed that since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, party committees at all levels in the city have accomplished with remarkable success a vast amount of work in implementing the policy on intellectuals, and thereby mobilized the initiative of the broad masses of intellectuals to serve in the process of the four modernizations. As a result, many advanced figures have come forward at all fronts who dedicate themselves to making contributions to the four modernizations. At present, the most outstanding problem in the work on intellectuals is that of middle-aged intellectuals. There are now a total of more than 230,000 middle-aged intellectuals in our city who account for 65.6 percent of the total number of intellectuals. Most of them were nurtured after liberation. At present, the majority of them are key professional technicians. However, since some cadres do not have enough understanding of the status and the role of intellectuals in the new era, certain influences of the "elitist" ideology and the prejudice against them still remain, we may continue to encounter difficulties in making arrangements for them, in employing them or in working together with them. As far as middle-aged intellectuals in particular are concerned, at present, generally speaking, their tasks are light and wages are low; their working conditions and living quarters are poor. The competition has caused a lot of problems in their work and their daily life, and is hazardous to their health. In selecting and making use of middle-aged intellectuals, the practice of lining up according to seniority and holding talents under the "system of department ownership" has, in varying degrees, prevented them from being able to give full play to their professional skills. Professionally, they have spent much time in work but too little in learning. Therefore, their desire to engage in advanced studies is rather great. Besides, it is also necessary to go one step further to study and solve the question of providing assistants for old experts and reducing their part time work in order to bring the proper role of old intellectuals into full play.

The United Front Work Department of the municipal party committee and the relevant democratic parties have, in their reports submitted to the municipal party committee and concerned departments of the Party Central Committee, put forward some feasible opinions and suggestions for making improvements to further implement the policy on intellectuals, especially on solving the problems of middle-aged intellectuals.

#### Returned Overseas Intellectuals

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 11 Jul 82 p 1

[Article by Chi Ping [3069 5493]: "Embrace Intellectuals"]

[Text] Recently, the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office and the Overseas Chinese Affairs Union of Shanghai Municipality have made an investigation on the situation of the nearly 300 middle level intellectuals who are returned overseas Chinese.

Most of these intellectuals returned to their motherland in the mid-1950's and early 1960's with a strong patriotic feeling. At present, most of them have become key professionals of their own units. Among them, there are a total of 160 engineers, 7 assistant research fellows, 35 physicians-in-charge, 60 lecturers, and 30 key members of middle school teachers.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the party's policy on intellectuals and that on overseas Chinese affairs have continuously been implemented. More than 20 unjust, false and wrong charges against these returned overseas Chinese intellectuals during the "Great Cultural Revolution" have been redressed. A total of 36 returned overseas Chinese intellectuals have been elected deputies to the municipal and district People's Congress and members of the People's Political Consultative Conference. Over the past few years, 71 of these returned overseas Chinese intellectuals have been promoted to cadres. An investigation of 247 of them reveals that the wages of 195 have been increased, dwellings of 45 households have been expanded or readjusted, and the problem of 23 couples who were living apart has been solved. The implementation of this policy has further aroused the enthusiasm of the returned overseas Chinese intellectuals. In recent years, 17 of them have been awarded for successes achieved in their work, 4 of them have been given the title of model workers, and another 56 have been elected advanced workers at all levels, and 4 communist members among them have been elected exemplary communists.

After inspection, it has been found that there are still problems of the returned overseas Chinese intellectuals which urgently require further effort to resolve. For instance, we must continue to conscientiously sort out the false data in the files of the returned overseas Chinese, return to them the books and periodicals, letters, manuscripts and properties confiscated during the "Great Cultural Revolution," manage to make jobs suited to their special training so that their professional skill can be properly utilized, and treat them as equals without discrimination in promotion or in selection for advanced studies, receiving training or going abroad on tours

of investigation, and so forth. The department in charge of overseas Chinese affairs in the city expects that all units may take further steps to take care of returned overseas Chinese intellectuals to really achieve the purpose of politically treating them equal, without discrimination, giving them a free hand in their work, and taking care of their needs so that their enthusiasm can be better mobilized.

#### Discrimination Deplored

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 4 Jul 82 p 1

[Article: "Why the Policy on Intellectuals Has Not Been Implemented"]

[Text] Editor's Note: The individual leading cadres of the Shanghai Optical Instruments Plant do not conscientiously implement the policy on intellectuals, but rather discriminate against and oppress them. Their ideology and practice are wrong. It is suggested that relevant departments earnestly carry out inspection of this in order to use it as an example to educate cadres and improve the quality of their work.

Since the note "The Worry of an Engineer" taken by a correspondent and the article "Where Does the Ideological Resistance Exist?" written by a commentator were published in this newspaper on 19 June, letters have flooded in from readers of the Shanghai Municipal Optical Instruments Industry Association and the Shanghai Optical Instruments Plant pointing out that, in the plant, the phenomenon of discriminating and oppressing of talents is relatively grave, and the policy on intellectuals has not been implemented over a long period of time. They ask departments concerned to take further steps to find out the real situation and to take up this matter.

The Shanghai Optical Instruments Plant has more than 3,000 employees. A total of more than 330 technical personnel have a variety of technical titles, and more than 140 individuals among them are engineers. The factory buildings and its installations are first-rate. However, owing to the fact that it failed to conscientiously implement the policy on intellectuals, it has, in recent years, not been able to do a good job in scientific research. According to comrades working at the Municipal Science Commission, there are a total of seven major scientific research projects assigned to the plant by the Commission, but only one of them has been accomplished. As a result, the plant has become the unit of the city's optical instruments industry accomplishing the least. Since a few leading cadres of the plant, including the factory director, have been influenced by the "leftist" ideology, some intellectuals in the plant are discriminated against and oppressed. A college graduate of Fudan University who graduated in the 1960's had long been assigned to work at the optical workshop as a plating and filming worker. Although at a later date he was transferred to the technical department, his expertise was still ignored by the leading cadres. He was later on admitted

to the graduate school of Shanghai Jiaotong University because he did exceedingly well in an examination, but the leading cadres of the plant were still inclined to discriminate against him. Another graduate of Zhejiang University majoring in optical instruments has so far been assigned to work at the reception office as a doorkeeper, without proper arrangement made for him.

In 1979, the Municipal Science Commission gave an official, written approval to the Municipal Instrument and Meter Bureau to rebuild the optical research institute and separate it from the optical instruments plant. In September last year, during the Third Session of the Seventh Municipal People's Congress, five deputies to the Congress jointly put forward a motion on this subject. But individual leading cadres of the plant resisted with reasons of one kind or another. The factory director even said: "As long as I am with the plant, it is impossible to separate the optical research institute from the plant." As a result, the correct decision of the Municipal Science Commission and the proposal of the deputies to the Municipal People's Congress have so far not been implemented.

This newspaper has received many more letters from readers asking the upper level concerned departments to severely punish those who violate the party's policy on intellectuals, oppress talents, or who so far fail to recognize their own mistakes.

#### Party Recruitment Strengthened

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 29 Jun 82 p 1

[Article by Jiao Wei [3542 1983]: "Recruiting Outstanding Middle-Aged Intellectuals"]

[Text] Party organizations at all levels of municipal departments of education and public health and their affiliated agencies have strengthened their work in recruiting party members from among intellectuals. A total of more than 1,000 individuals have been recruited into our party in recent years. Among them, more than 84 percent are middle-aged and young technical professionals, and university and post-graduate school graduates.

In the work of recruiting intellectuals into our party, party organizations at all levels in municipal departments of education and public health and their affiliated agencies paid attention to recruiting the middle-aged backbone of technical professionals into our party. They put the focal point of the recruiting work on a number of college graduates of the 1960's who are outstanding in teaching and research work. Measures have been adopted to step up tests and training. Party organizations in many units helped the activists who had applied for party membership set up party constitution study groups organizing them to acquire the basic knowledge of the party. Some old party members have been appointed to help them deepen their understanding of the party. Party organizations at all levels must promptly recruit into our party those comrades among the backbone technical professionals who political-ly adhere to the four basic principles, actively support the lines, principles



The policies adopted since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, assiduously endeavor to gain professional efficiency, quietly immerse themselves in their work, and conform to the conditions of being a party member.

In the past, the approval of the party membership applications of some of the newly admitted middle-aged backbone of technical professionals was long delayed because of their family background or of their social relations. Along with the return of the guiding ideology to the right course and the implementation of the policy on intellectuals, party organizations of concerned units have started to pay attention to eliminating the "leftist" influence and, based on the principle of seeking truth from facts and attaching importance to personal performance, vigorously recruit the outstanding middle-aged backbone of technical professionals having full confidence in our party, who have withstood a long test and made contributions to the four modernizations, into our party in accordance with the principle of doing it actively and prudently.

Since these outstanding middle-aged backbone of technical professionals have been admitted into our party, because they have set strict demands on themselves in all aspects, they have been doing very well in their work. Seven of the middle-aged backbone of technical professionals newly admitted into our party (by Shanghai Jiaotong University have been commended with such honorable titles as advanced workers, Three-Eight red-banner pacesetters and outstanding party members. Associate Professor Yu Wenbi [0205 2429 7625/3024] of the Mathematics Department of Fudan University set strict demands on himself after he had been admitted into our party. During the period when he was abroad engaging in advanced studies, he actively introduced the successes in the building of our country over the past 30 years and the superiority of the socialist system to overseas Chinese and foreign friends. Meanwhile, he assiduously endeavored to gain professional proficiency. At present, he has become an outstanding course leader of his department. Associate Professor Jiang Jingao [3068 2529 3134] of the Department of Architectural Engineering at Tongji University is a member of an overseas Chinese family. His parents and brothers and sister ask him to go abroad, but he is determined to take root in his motherland and to dedicate himself to the four modernizations. Since he has been admitted into our party, he has been devoting himself to teaching and nurturing people and to taking care of the moral, intellectual and physical development of students in an all-round way in order to add a little force to the construction of the four modernizations by deeds. Both teachers and students of the whole university speak highly of him and call him "the 'horseman' of Tongji University."

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## PARTY AND STATE

### GUARD AGAINST THE COMEBACK OF 'LEFTIST' ERRORS

Shanghai MINZHU YU FAZHI [DEMOCRACY AND LEGAL SYSTEM] in Chinese No 7,  
25 Jul 82 p 4

[Column by reader Tian Jing [3944 2529]: "We Cannot Allow 'Leftist' Errors  
To Stage a Comeback"]

[Text] Recently, the cadres in charge in Sanjing Administrative Area, Nanzhang County, Hubei Province, summoned a mass meeting of 1,000 persons. The purpose was to point out and criticize brigade Deputy Secretary Zhang Xiangheng who had become wealthy by engaging inside occupations. They carried the pieces of boxwood which Zhang had seeded with edible white fungus up to the meeting to "exhibit to the masses." It very much appeared to be a comeback for "pulling a chicken out of the coop" and "cutting off the tail of capitalism." The masses were very disheartened by this, and their enthusiasm for production suffered a setback. Some people thought that the policy had changed again, and that all the 'Left' stuff of the past was going to come back again. Fortunately, it was discovered in time by the leadership at a higher level, and the erroneous actions of some of the leaders of the Sanjing Administrative Area were quickly criticized and corrected.

At present, the attack on criminal economic activities has been very effective and has won much approval. However, in the rural areas some of the cadres have obscured the demarcation line between becoming wealthy through labor or through illegal economic activities. The strange story I have related about the attacking and criticism of a peasant who "beame too conspicuous" is not the only one of its kind. In the brains of some cadres the "leftist" spirit refuses to dissipate. They have been full of misgivings all along about the economic policies since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. They cannot get used to the new situation, and they cannot understand the new issues. Often they even attribute some illegal activities to the enlivening of the economy and to the relaxation of policy. As soon as there is the slightest sign of disturbance or trouble, they take the habitual road back.

While attacking criminal economic activities and resolutely opposing capitalist corruption, we must, at the same time, firmly and unswervingly carry through the economic policies formulated since the Third Plenary Session

of the 11th Party Central Committee. The facts have already proven that these kinds of economic policies are suited to our national conditions, are really effective, and can promote the development of the socialist economy. Under no circumstances must we allow the "leftist" things to stage a comeback. Otherwise, we shall have suffered history's punishment in vain, without becoming more intelligent.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### CUT BACK ON BUSY WORK URGED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 21 Jul 82 p 4

[Commentary by Yang Yisheng [2799 5030 3932]: "The Phantom of 'Oblomov'"]

[Text] Among the famous works of world literature there is a model type of laziness called "Oblomov." He is to be found in the novel "Oblomov" by the 19th century Russian critical realist author Gocharov. This naturally lazy character lies in bed all day, forming plans, and he never does anything practical. In the end he achieves nothing. Lenin, in his 1922 work "The Internal and External Situation of the Soviet Republic," used this type to make a trenchant critique of some of the leading persons in the Soviet regime at that time, for "incessantly and constantly holding meetings, setting up committees, and making plans." At the same time he pointed out that "this is a disastrous situation." Lenin further said: "We need only take a look at how we hold meetings, and how we work on the various committees, and we can say that old Oblomov is still here. Therefore, for a long time we are going to have to scrub him out and sweep him away, keep an eye on him and slog him, before we will be able to get any results."

Exactly 60 years have passed since Lenin spoke those words. Today, has the root cause of the "Oblomov" sickness been cured? It is very regrettable, but it appears that his ghost is still loafing about. Looking at conditions in our country at the present, many local organizations are overstaffed, and the phenomenon of more hands than needed still exists to a great extent. No matter how much public opinion appeals for fewer report forms and cutting back on meetings, the situation does not seem fundamentally to improve. To speak only of meetings, if we make a count of the large and small meetings held in every region of the country, all year round, we can say that they are as numerous as the hairs of a cow. Not long ago, JIEFANG RIBAO published a story concerning cutting back on meetings at the Huangpu District Party Committee. It was decided that the district party committee, the district government, and the various departments and organizations may not summon their subordinates for meetings on Thursdays or Saturdays. When meetings have become so numerous that the grassroots units can't catch their breath, to the extent that it is necessary to lay down an inflexible rule, we can see how serious the problem is! Instead of simply referring to this kind of news as a story, we ought to add on a modifying word and call it a "worrisome story."

Of course, it is not appropriate simply to compare people today who suffer from the "Oblomov" sickness with "Oblomov" himself. The "Oblomov" created by the pen of Cocharov was a sluggard who lay in bed all day and never did anything at all. Today, the great majority of our cadres bustle about all day, or bury themselves in hard work. Some people soak themselves all day in heaps of meetings, or bury themselves in thickets of reports. And yet it is all to no avail because the spirit of "Oblomov" has already seeped into our departments. For one person to try to escape from it is easier said than done!

Nevertheless, it is undeniable that there are some persons who take holding meetings all day long to be their job. Two years ago, RENMIN RIBAO published the concerns of Professor Li Lianjie, a pedologist at Beijing Agricultural University, about the style of meetings and the prevalence of idle talk. He lamented that meetings are so numerous these days, and that some people don't make any preparations at all. At one meeting they will talk a blue streak all day long, and then at another meeting they will do it again. He made an appeal from the bottom of his heart: "Don't make any more idle talk: Idle talk will ruin the nation." How much effect has Professor Li's appeal had in the 2 years since then? How much of a decrease has there been in the number of meetings on the various fronts and in the various departments? On the contrary, some meetings have become more and more high-level. Have you not seen the cartoon called: "The Meetings in Peking are the Finest Under Heaven"?

Meetings which are necessary must be held. The problem today is that organizations are overstaffed, there are more hands than needed, and the phenomenon of bureaucratism is fairly serious. Some leading cadres have gotten into the habit of listening to reports, reading bulletins, writing accounts, and publishing appeals. Whenever something comes up, they quickly get together a group, set up an organization, and hold successive meetings. This is indeed the "disastrous situation" which Lenin scathingly denounced. I hope that all levels of leadership in all of our departments will be able to drive away the spirit of "Oblomov." When they are considering streamlining administrative structures and increasing efficiency, they can cut down on the number of meetings, and put a stop to meetings that aren't necessary. This would give the cadres, especially the leading cadres, more time to get themselves moving and go to the frontlines of production, unite with the masses, and direct the struggle.

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STALIN'S VIEW ON HISTORICAL MATERIALISM REVIEWED

Guangzhou XUESHU YANJIU [JOURNAL OF ACADEMIC RESEARCH] in Chinese No 3, 20 May 82 pp 72-77

[Article by Li Keming [7812 0344 2429] and Xu Chaomei [1776 6389 4168]: "On Several Viewpoints of Stalin on Historical Materialism"]

[Text] On the basis of the materialist view of history established by Marx and Engels and developed by Lenin, Stalin also provided clear definitions of a series of categories of historical materialism and expounded in great detail on the law of development of productive forces and production relations. This was an important contribution by Stalin to the development of the materialist view of history. But in some respects Stalin's interpretation of the materialist view of history also lacks sufficient succinctness. This article expresses some of our views on Stalin's important contributions to the development of the materialist view of history and certain problems pertaining to it.

Social Existence and Social Consciousness

In 1859, Marx clearly pointed out in his "Introduction to 'A Critique of Political Economy'" (hereafter cited as "Introduction"): "It is not man's consciousness which determines man's existence; on the contrary, it is man's social existence which determines man's consciousness."<sup>1</sup> What Marx mentioned as social existence means man's "actual living process,"<sup>2</sup> and man's actual activities are mainly material activities. "The mode of production of material life constrains the total process of our social life, political life, and spiritual life."<sup>3</sup> But Marx and Engels failed to provide clear definitions for social existence and social consciousness. Stalin's contribution consists of (1) providing clear prescriptions for the connotations of social existence and social consciousness and their relationship, etc. He said: "The sources giving rise to spiritual life in society and sources that produce social ideologies, social theories, political viewpoints and political measures should not be sought from ideologies, theories, viewpoints and political measures themselves but from the conditions of material life in society and from social existence, because these ideologies, theories, political viewpoints and political measures are a reflection of social existence." And his conclusion was: "Whatever social existence there is, whatever the conditions of material life in society are, the same holds true with the social ideologies, theories, political viewpoints and political measures."<sup>4</sup> Here, Stalin clearly regarded





## The Mode of Production of Material Means

Stalin took the mode of production of material means as the principal, decisive factor of social existence; this is in accord with the viewpoint of Marx and Engels. Then, was Stalin's interpretation of the mode of production also in accord with the original thinking of Marx and Engels?

Stalin took the mode of production of material means as the way man obtains his means of livelihood; this is consistent with the interpretation of the mode of production by Marx and Engels. Marx and Engels held that the mode of production is none other than the way man goes in carrying out his production while living his life; it is namely a certain method of utilization. They pointed out, the reason why man has a history is because he must produce the means of his livelihood and he must also do so by a certain method; the mode of production "to a larger degree is the given mode of activity on the part of these individuals."<sup>8</sup> This shows that on the interpretation of this concept mode of production, Stalin was consistent with Marx and Engels.

Stalin took the essence of the mode of production as the unity of productive force and production relations; said he: "The mode of production includes both social productive force and man's production relations and thereby embodies the unity of the two in the process of production of material means."<sup>9</sup> On the works of Marx and Engels it was never directly suggested that the mode of production is the unity of productive force and production relations in the process of production of material means; but this proposition on Stalin's part not only accords with the original thinking of Marx and Engels but may also be said to be a development of their concept of the connotation of the mode of production. Marx and Engels always took the mode of production as connected both to productive force and to production relations; the mode of production they spoke of means the content of what to produce and how to produce. They took the mode of production as a concept hedged between productive force and production relations, and their relationship is: productive force determines the mode of production, and a given mode of production is bound to lead to definite production relations in response to it. In his introduction to the first edition of "Das Capital" Marx said: "What I wish to stress in this book is the capitalist mode of production and the production relations and exchange relations in response to it."<sup>10</sup> Therefore, Stalin's interpretation of the mode of production provides a clear exposition and correct development of the concept of Marx and Engels.

What attracts our attention is that when Stalin discoursed on the relationship between the mode of production in society and social ideologies, theories, political viewpoints and political measures, he stressed that "the history of social development is first of all the history of production development" and that "the foremost task of historical science is to study and reveal the laws of production, the laws of the development of productive forces and production relations, the laws of social economic development."<sup>11</sup> Stalin paid great attention to production development; he held that personnel in economic work must rationally proceed with their production, correctly calculate the quantity of their production, and not rely on "rough figures" in carrying out their work. He wanted personnel in economic work to discover and tap the

in the field of production, he wanted them to improve the methods of production, reduce the cost of production, carry out economic accounting, so as to enable their enterprises to make profits. The fact that the Soviet Union was able during the postwar period rapidly to revive and develop its socialist economy was closely related to the emphasis Stalin placed on grasping the development of social productive forces.

### Production Relations

With respect to the important category of production relations in historical materialism, Stalin's interpretation was also in accord with the original teaching of Marx and Engels.

In the first place, Stalin took production relations as the mutual relations that occur between men in the process of their production; he also stressed that the process in which production relations occur "is not the result of man's purposeful, conscious activity, but spontaneous, inadvertent, and arising irrespective of man's will."<sup>12</sup> In stressing here that the development of production relations is of an objective nature irrespective of man's will, Stalin was entirely in accord with the discourse of Marx on production relations in his classic formula of the materialist view of history. Said Marx: "In the social production of their means of livelihood, men strike on definite and inevitable relations irrespective of their will, namely, production relations commensurate with the appropriate stage of the development of their material productive forces."<sup>13</sup> Here, Marx took production relations as the appropriate social and material relations between man and man in social production; this kind of production relations are determined by the degree of development of productive forces irrespective of man's will; they are of an objective material nature. Stalin took the laws of development of production relations much like natural laws, which are all objective processes irrespective of man's will; this entirely tallies with the Marxist materialist view of history.

Next, Stalin summarized production relations into: "(1) terms of ownership of the means of production; (2) the status of different social groups in production stemming from them and their mutual relations, or what Marx mentioned as 'mutually exchanging their activities'; (3) terms of distribution of products actually shared among them."<sup>14</sup> This basically tallies with the connotation of "production relations." Marx and Engels took production relations to be social material relations occurring between man and man in the four phases of production, i.e., production, exchange, distribution, and consumption. Engels defined production relations as "the conditions in which men, under which all various relations proceed, with one another in production and exchange in so far as they are at the existence of their society."<sup>15</sup> Stalin pulled out the social conditions common to production, distribution, and exchange, terms of ownership of the means of production, the status of different social groups in production, this, Stalin, with regard to the use of the word "exchange," was not quite correct. It was not exchange in the sense of the exchange of commodities, but exchange in the sense of the exchange of labor. Stalin pulled out the social conditions common to production, distribution, and exchange, terms of ownership of the means of production, the status of different social groups in production, this, Stalin, with regard to the use of the word "exchange," was not quite correct. It was not exchange in the sense of the exchange of commodities, but exchange in the sense of the exchange of labor. Stalin pulled out the social conditions common to production, distribution, and exchange, terms of ownership of the means of production, the status of different social groups in production, this, Stalin, with regard to the use of the word "exchange," was not quite correct. It was not exchange in the sense of the exchange of commodities, but exchange in the sense of the exchange of labor.

ownership of means of production is the foundation of production relations; it determines the essence and characteristics of production relations; it determines man's status in production and his exchange relationship; it determines the form of distribution of products. The study of any kind of production relations must grasp the core question of ownership of the means of production in order to perceive clearly the essence of certain kind of production relations. When Lenin spoke of classes, he likewise gave prominence to the different relationships of different classes with respect to the possession of the means of production. Said he: "Classes are such big groups which have occupied different status in given systems of social production in history and have developed different relationship with respect to the means of production (...) and played different roles in the organization of social labor, and hence have acquired by different ways and in different quantities the shares of social wealth under their respective control...."<sup>17</sup> Hence, Stalin listed the forms of ownership of the means of production as the first content of production relations and stressed the mutual relationship between ownership, and distribution and exchange; this is in line with the thinking of Marx and Engels. But Stalin's definition did not mention production, nor stress exchange; he limited production relations to relations between "various different social groups" in production; this is somewhat at variance with the original thinking of Marx and Engels. But generally speaking, while Stalin's definition concerning production relations harbors some deficiencies, its content is consistent with what Marx and Engels wrote connotating production relations and also representing development.

#### Production Relations Must Adapt to the Law of the Nature of Productive Forces

The great contribution Stalin made to the development of the materialist view of history is that he provided a comprehensive and systematic exposition on the interconnection between productive forces and production relations as well as the law of movement of the contradictions between the same. But, in Stalin's exposition in respect to this law there also exist some problems. Stalin said: "Marxism takes social production as a whole entity which consists of two inseparable aspects: social productive forces (the relationship between society and natural forces, society obtaining necessary material means of life in its struggle against natural forces) and production relations (inter-relationship between men in the process of production), "only when these two aspects are present in a production process can there be social production."<sup>18</sup> These two aspects of social production are not only "interconnected" but also "mutually affecting each other."<sup>19</sup> Also: production "can never remain at a standstill for long but must continue in an evolving and developing state," whereas "the evolution and development of production always begins with the evolution and development of productive forces, first of all, with the evolution and development of production tools. Hence, productive forces are the most active, most revolutionary factor in production. First, social productive forces would evolve and develop; then man's production relations and man's economic relations begin to evolve accordingly in response to such evolution."<sup>20</sup> This aforesaid exposition entirely accords with the original thinking of Marx and Engels, as they had said that the change in production relations "corresponded in each stage of historical development to the development of productive forces in the same period."<sup>21</sup> Said Stalin:



... took newly arisen production relations as the principal, determining factor for the further development of productive forces; this calls for a revision. He said: "new production relations are such a principal and decisive impetus; it is this impetus which determines the further and powerful development of productive forces."<sup>25</sup> This is contradictory to his own discussion of the mutual effects of production relations and productive forces on each other. He correctly regarded the reaction of production relations as "accelerating or delaying" the development of productive forces, yet he took the repelling function of new production relations toward productive forces as the principal and decisive function.

First, since Stalin made an imprecise appraisal of the reaction of new production relations, this led to certain theoretical confusion on his part which was reflected in his taking the production relations and productive forces under the socialist system as "entirely adapted" to each other.<sup>26</sup> He said that "after the production relations of the bourgeoisie were established, there was no doubt a period in which the production relations of the bourgeoisie were entirely adapted to the nature of productive forces."<sup>27</sup> Such a view of their being "entirely adapted" to each other is in essence a denial of contradiction and hence departs from dialectics.

Second, Stalin made some supplemental explanation to his suggestion on "entirely adapted" to each other. He said: "The suggestion that they are adapted to each other...should be understood in terms that, under the socialist system, production relations would usually not run into conflict with productive forces, that society is capable of making the production relations adapt to the nature of productive forces."<sup>28</sup> Such an explanation was not intended as a revision of his theory that they are "entirely adapted" to each other. Although, theoretically, under the leadership of the proletariat should be able to perceive and master the contradiction between productive forces and production relations and actively and consciously to readjust in time the production relations to make them adapt to the continuously evolving nature of productive forces, and hence should be able to prevent production relations from running into conflict with productive forces. Even so, it cannot be drawn that production relations and productive forces are "entirely adapted" to each other, let alone the fact that it is not possible for the proletarians to perceive and master in practice the contradiction between them; they must pay a heavy price or even suffer a disaster before they can feel their way around certain objective laws of development.

#### CONCLUSION

Stalin's theory of the twin categories of economic development, the productive forces and the production relations, is not only a revision of the theory of the relationship between the two categories, but also a revision of the theory of the relationship between the two categories.

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to evolve and develop. Productive forces always continue to move forward. Once these productive forces are developed, they in turn rise to overthrow the mode of production they have overtaken; along with such productive forces continuing to move forward the new mode of production, in its contradiction to, and struggle against, the old mode of production, gradually defeats it and replaces it. This new mode of production thus advances from its original nonruling position in the economic base to the ruling position; at this point, the nature of the economic base undergoes a fundamental change. But Stalin never clearly regarded the economic base as the whole of all modes of production; therefore he failed to expound on the mutual effects of various modes of production within the economic base, nor to expound on how an economic base itself develops.

Stalin defined superstructure as "society's political, legal, religious, artistic, and philosophical viewpoints and other political and legal measures that are corresponding to such viewpoints."<sup>36</sup> In allocating mentality, viewpoints and ideologies of the like to the category of superstructure, Stalin in this regard was consistent with the viewpoint of Marx and Lenin. Marx said: "The economic relations of ownership and existing social conditions towers the whole superstructure built by various different emotions, fancies, modes of thinking and worldviews."<sup>37</sup> Lenin said, "mental relationships are but the superstructure of material relationships that take shape irrespective of man's will and consciousness."<sup>38</sup> Hence, contrary to the view of those comrades who advocate deriving ideologies from the superstructure, Stalin's definition of the superstructure tallies with the materialist view of history.

Stalin maintained that the superstructure takes shape, evolves and develops, and changes on the basis of the rise, evolution and development, and replacement of the base, it "is a product of the time in which a certain economic base exists and operates."<sup>39</sup> This explains both the superstructure's dependence upon the economic base, and also how any superstructure must be a historical category and not permanent or nonchanging. Meanwhile, he also pointed out, the superstructure never just negatively reflects the base but "it also aids the formation and consolidation of its own base and helps to overthrow, to break and eliminate the old base and old classes using force."<sup>40</sup> This illustrates the positive reaction of the superstructure to the economic base. In these regards, Stalin correctly applied materialist principles to the study of the nature of the superstructure.

But Stalin and the superstructure similarly failed to clearly define the superstructure's viewpoints and measures such as politics and law as a historical category; hence he failed to proceed from the contradictions within the superstructure to a discussion of its evolution and development; he also failed to show the superstructure continues to evolve and change in contradiction with, and struggle against, the economic base.

Stalin also held the economic structure built by various elements of the economic base, then, reflected in the superstructure must be a reflection of the superstructure's viewpoints and measures of various elements in the economic base. Similarly, the nature of the superstructure must be determined by the political, legal and other viewpoints and measures





6. Ibid., p 194.
7. Ibid., p 197.
8. "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 24.
9. "Selected Articles of Stalin," p 196.
10. "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 8.
11. "Selected Articles of Stalin," pp 196-197.
12. Ibid., p 204.
13. "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 82.
14. "Selected Articles of Stalin," p 629.
15. "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 189.
16. Ibid., Vol 1, p 285.
17. "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 10.
18. "Selected Articles of Stalin," p 621.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid., pp 196-197.
21. "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 81.
22. "Selected Articles of Stalin," p 197.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid., p 620.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid., p 202.
27. Ibid., p 611.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid., p 620.
30. "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 82.
31. "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 1, p 99.

33. "Selected Articles of Stalin," pp 524-525.
34. "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 327.
35. Ibid., p 505.
36. "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 109.
37. "Selected Articles of Stalin," p 520.
38. "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 629.
39. "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 1, p 18.
40. "Selected Articles of Stalin," p 523.
41. Ibid., p 521.

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### LITERARY FIGURES CONFER ON IMPROVING MILITARY LITERATURE

Beijing SHIDAI DE BAOGAO [REPORT OF THE TIMES] No 6, 1982 pp 76-79

[Article by Zhang Xiaosheng [1728 2556 3932]: "How Do We Develop Socialist Military Literature?"]

[Text] A forum on military themes and literary creation, which was convened by the Chinese Writers Association jointly with the General Political Department and Culture Department of the People's Liberation Army, was held from 19 to 28 April at Beijing. Close to 150 old, middle-aged and young writers, literary critics and editors from all areas of the country and both from within and outside the military participated in the conference.

The forum opened on the evening of 19 April. Comrades He Jingshi [320 2417 0037], Hua Nan [5478 2809], Zhou Weishi [0719 1550 1477], Zhang Guangnian [1728 0342 1628], Liu Baiyu [0491 4101 5038], Ding Ling [0002 3781], Lin Mohan [2651 7817 3211], Chen Yi [7115 3085], Sha Ting [3097 3060], Wei Shiantong [7614 0278 4827] and Ma Zhitu [7456 4930 6634] attended the conference. At the conference, Comrade Feng Mu [7458 3668] read selected passages from the writings of Comrade Ba Jin, and Comrade Liu Baiyu presented a systematic address on the theme, "Striving to develop socialist military literature for our nation's new historical period."

Comrade Ba Jin, in a written statement, said: "Military themes are a very important aspect of literary creative themes." "Whether from the point of view of educating the succeeding generations of young people, the point of view of building a socialist spiritual civilization or preparing for future wars against aggression or from the point of view of satisfying the continually growing spiritual needs of the people, we should strive to promote and develop literary creation involving military themes." He pointed out that literary creation involving military themes "is at present confronted with the problem of raising its quality." "I believe that an important problem in raising creative quality lies in maintaining the creative method of revolutionary realism." He believes that becoming deeply involved with the problems of life "is the key to making military literary creation flourish, and is also the prerequisite condition for raising the quality of works."

At the meeting, Comrade Liu Baiyu emphasized problems in three areas: first, the importance and major significance of literary creation involving military



in military literature." Comrade Du Pengcheng [2629 7726 4453], who could not attend the conference because of illness, sent a letter in which he said: "We have fought for several scores of years under the ideological guidance of Mao Zedong, creating innumerable glorious examples of battle and obtaining great accomplishments. We should organize all aspects of our stories and write in a grand and specific way from all levels and angles." Comrade Li Yingru [2621 5391 0320] said: "We are building the four modernization in the face of the threat of war. The creation of military literature has a very high degree of realism. Several million troops and a militia literature has a very high degree of realism. Several million troops and a militia of over 100 million people is really something to write about." At the general meetings, Comrades Su Ce and Ke Yuan told about heroic deeds in the war of self-defense against Vietnam and in subsequent battles at Guli Mountain and Faka Mountain, as well as what they had learned from their own experience in visits deep within the front lines. Comrade Ke Yuan, reciting a writer's words, said with emotion: "Those of us who were literary workers among the troops cannot forget our soldiers and cannot leave our soldiers. If we do not use our pens to portray them and sing their praises so that their countrymen can understand them through the form of art, that would be a type of crime, a neglect of our duty." The speeches were warmly received by everyone.

Second, we must continue to free ourselves from old ideas and overcome formalism and dealing in generalities. Comrade Wu Qiang said, "To create literature, we must free ourselves from and break through the conventions that bind us. We must not allow the ghosts of 'putting the theme first' and 'the three prominences' to bind us." Comrade Ma Zhitu said, "We must continue to free ourselves of old ideas and at the same time we must guard against the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization." Comrade Xiao Yu [5618 3768] held that, "The problem of how to portray contradictions is at present a common problem in creating military literature. I do not approve of the 'literature of easiness' but I do approve of literature that exposed contradictions in the military. This way of writing can increase the depth of a work." Third, the comrades in their speeches indicated that we must be firm about freeing ourselves of old ideas and that we must dare to break with restrictions that stand in the way of creativity, but that there can be no doubt about the point that freeing ourselves of old ideas is a matter of separating truth from facts.

Fourth, the key lies in writing about human beings. Everyone agreed that the key to improving the quality of literary creations involving military themes lies in writing about various types of flesh-and-blood characters with distinct personalities. Comrade Wei Wei held that, "The most key factor in creating characters is to make the character highly individual" and that "the most important point of our artistic creation is to submerge the character in the mass and to submerge individuality in generalities." Comrade Xu Huaizhong also said that he had learned how to make expression of revolutionary heroism more colorful, and how to portray heroic individuals in rich colors. As for the 'inner world' of characters' inner world we can strive to reveal the characters' spiritual reserves in order to move the reader's emotions and to create a flesh-and-blood heroic form. Comrades Lin Yu [2631 7153]

[illegible]



"Military literature has its own distinctive characteristics. For example, our writing about relations between the army and the people, the army has been very deep. The figures of old women who saved their brother soldiers have been particularly moving. This is a point that is seldom seen in the military literature of foreign countries. The lofty qualities and revolutionary heroism of the revolutionary soldiers that we portray are also very genuine and very characteristic." Comrade Ku Zhijuan [5423 1807 7710] said, "At present, our armies are becoming more modernized and intellectualized, day by day. For this reason, we cannot write about today's armies with our old vision of the past. We must ask ourselves to go to the armies today and get to know the officers and men. To write well about them will require new accumulations of life and will require new knowledge and new feelings. It is difficult to write well about figures in our modern armies relying solely on past knowledge and feelings."

Next, we must correctly guide the admiration and interest of the young. In regard to this problem, Comrade Ma Zhitu pointed out, "At present, there are some works of military literature that are really somewhat unpopular and that do not seem to be particularly welcomed by the young people as a whole. But at this is a problem of quality. At the same time, there is the problem of the guiding of admiration and interest. Writers and the concerned departments have a responsibility to guide young people in wanting to study to advance and to accept positive influences. At present there are some motion picture [producers], periodicals and publishing houses that put an extreme amount of emphasis on box-office value, catering to the unhealthy tastes of the readers. This is not correct. We should not pander; rather we should guide correctly. In guiding, we should cultivate healthy admiration and interest among young people." Many comrades held that there are many young people who lack a spirit of idealism and revolutionary heroism, who do not have sufficient patriotism, who are lacking in heroic spirit and who are growing up with love because of the after-effects of the 10-year civil war disorder and because of having been corrupted by bourgeois life. They are very much in need of guidance in regard to these bad tendencies. Outstanding works dealing with military themes that are imbued with a healthy revolutionary spirit can rouse the spirits of our young people."

Next, we must strengthen organization leadership. Comrade Chen Yi held that "to do a good job of creating military literature definitely involves the exercise of organizational leadership. Once we have organizational leadership, there is no interference." Comrade Ding Ning [0002 1380] said that writers should be organized to write in a timely way about the military campaigns in a war of revolution and planned arrangements ought to be made. Otherwise, when old comrades who have personal experience or knowledge of conditions die, they will take with them many valuable experiences so that it will be difficult to write about them again. At the conference he reflected: Writing military literary works in the form of biographical form is not something that can be fabricated or made up as one desires. Rather, we must base ourselves on detailed, authentic records and data. For this



and outside the military will learn from each other and help each other in developing military literature so that the fresh flower of military literature with its distinctive style will bloom even more brilliantly in the garden of the one hundred flowers.

The conference came to a victorious close in an atmosphere of solidarity and full emotions of gratitude.

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1. The 1970's "New England" period of the 1970's and 1980's was characterized by a strong emphasis on the "New England" period of the 1970's and 1980's, and a strong emphasis on the "New England" period of the 1970's and 1980's.

1367 1470] of the Jiangsu provincial party committee revealed that "the departmentalism of the leadership and the flaws in the management system" constitute the main reason for failing to utilize and wasting talents.

The CPC, over an extended period of time, distrusted intellectuals, incessantly launching political movements and critical struggles and dealing heavy blows on them. The loss of the research and creative impetus on the part of many intellectuals was another reason for the backwardness in science and technology.

#### Absence of Favorable Conditions to Develop Potentials

The gap in the scientific and technological level between mainland China and advanced countries in the West is great. To reduce the gap, it must start with education, allocate more educational funds, thoroughly change the situation of "the layman leading the expert" and create favorable conditions for the intellectuals to develop their potentials. It appears that the CPC will not be able to make any major breakthrough in these aspects within the next 3 or more years.

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## TEN CATEGORIES OF PEOPLE IN CPC'S UNITED FRONT LISTED

Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 25 Jun 82 p 11

[Article by Meng Ju [1322 1172]: "Ten Categories of Objectives of the CPC's United Front"]

[Text] Recently, Chinese newspapers have constantly published articles on the "united front" work, including the "peace" offensive on Taiwan.

The united front occupies an important position in the history of the PRC. Mao Zedong declared that the party organization, the army and the united front are the three great talismans of the PRC. In the party organization, the United Front Work Department is of the same level as the Organization of Propaganda Department.

### Ten Special Categories of People

The CPC's united front is of two different kinds: the international anti-hegemony united front and the "patriotic united front within the country." The objectives of the latter can be classified into 10 categories:

Democratic parties--such as the China Democratic League, Guomindang Revolutionary Committee, China Association for Promoting Democracy, China Democratic National Construction Association, Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party and Jiu San Society.

Nonparty figures--such as Song Qingling and Ma Yinchu [7456 1377 0443] (deceased).

Nonparty intellectuals--mainly famous high-level intellectuals, such as Feng Depei [7458 1795 1014], Wang Li [3769 0500], Qian Zhongshu [6929 6945 2579] and Luo Ergang [5012 1422 4854].

Former Kuomintang personnel and officers--such as Zheng Dongguo [6774 0159 0948], Zeng Zesheng [2582 3419 3932] and Tao Zhiyue [7118 1492 1471].

Former industrialists and businessmen--mainly former wealthy men and famous figures in industry and commerce, such as Rong Yiren [2837 3015 0088] and Yue Songsheng [2867 2646 3932].

Minority upper stratum figures--such as A Pei [7093 3099] and Awang Jinmei [7093 2489 2516 5019] of the Zang nationality and Dao Dongting [0430 2767 1656] of the Dai nationality.

Leading religious figures--such as Wu Yaozong [0702 5069 1350] (deceased), Ding Guangxun [0002 0342 6064] and Zheng Guo [2973 2654].

Families of famous figures in Taiwan--such as the nephews of Yan Jiagan [0917 1367 3227] and Sun Yunxuan [1327 6663 3894].

Compatriots in Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan--mainly wealthy men and famous figures.

Returned overseas Chinese and Chinese overseas--mainly capitalists and famous figures.

HONGQI magazine recently urged all areas to strengthen the united front work, unfold a new situation and "prevent and curb" the tendency of "closed-doorism and adventurism of isolation and self-sufficiency."

Change of "Closed-Doorism" Urged by HONGQI

The United States and Hong Kong are the crucial areas of the CPC's united front effort. Recently, those invited from America to visit China were mostly opportunist politicians of the past, such as Li Hanhun [2621 3352 7609], and those from Hong Kong consisted mostly of the wealthy. Poor and unknown residents of Hong Kong have no "united front value" and do not rate as guests of the united front organization. It is a rigid hierarchy.

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## 'AGING' OF CPPCC HIGH LEVEL CALLED FAIRLY SERIOUS

Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 27 Jun 82 p 11

[Article by Meng Ju [1322 1172]: "'Aging' of Beijing's CPPCC (Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference) High Level Fairly Serious — Revision of Constitution and Appointment of Liu Ningyi [0491 1380 0001] as Secretary General"]

[Text] Recently, the CPPCC held the second meeting of the Constitutional Revision Committee in Beijing. As chairman of the committee, Deng Xiaoping made a speech of a policy nature, and Secretary General Liu Ningyi of the committee explained the draft revision. He stated that the main points of the revision will include taking the four basic principles as the foundation of the united front, viz., upholding the party's leadership, Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, socialism, and the proletarian dictatorship.

### Aging of Leaders

Every time the CPPCC holds a meeting, there is always a large group of senile and infirm members sitting on the rostrum, and those attending and in charge of the meeting are all oldsters. The degree of aging of the leadership stratum is extremely serious.

Mostly octogenarians and nonagenarians or close to 80, the chairman and vice chairmen have no vitality, and the secretary general is the one actually in charge of the routine duties, but Liu Lantao [0491 3482 3447], a septuagenarian who serves at this post, is quite old.

Liu Ningyi who explained the constitutional revisions to the meeting is close to 80. To make such an old man serve as the secretary general is quite abnormal.

### Liu Ningyi's Fairly High Position in the Past

Liu Ningyi's position before the Cultural Revolution was fairly high, serving as a deputy director of the International Liaison Department of the Party Central Committee, chairman of the General Labor Union, and vice chairman of the Foreign Affairs Office of the State Council in charge of international labor movement. In the early days of the Cultural Revolution, he replaced

Wang Jiaxiang [3769 4471 4382] as director of the International Liaison Department of the CPC Central Committee and also served as a secretary of the Central Secretariat. Subsequently, he fell from power, and not until 1979 did he reemerge officially.

Upon reemergence, Liu Ningyi served as assistant secretary general of the CPPCC and deputy director of the United Front Work Department, far below his former positions. He no longer held these two posts in recent years.

There are many old-timers in the CPPCC, the National People's Congress and local party committees who are aged like Liu Ningyi. The delay of their retirement is detrimental to the metabolism of the political scene.

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WAN LI: DENG XIAOPING WILL WITHDRAW TO SECOND LINE

Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 1 Jul 82 p 5

[Article: "Wan Li indicates Deng Xiaoping's Impending Withdrawal to Second Line and Changes in Politburo"]

[Text] Beijing, 30 Jun, Associated Press--Vice Premier Wan Li told American visitors that China's supreme leader Deng Xiaoping will join the new advisory commission organized by CPC cadres. However, there is no indication that Deng Xiaoping's key role will vanish.

On Tuesday, Wan Li met the American Broadcasting Company delegation led by Elton H. Rule (LU-ER). Members of the delegation said today that Wan Li informed them that Deng Xiaoping will retain his post in the CPC Central Committee. They also said that, when asked whether Deng Xiaoping will remain as vice chairman and member of the Politburo, Wan Li replied that "it will be decided by voting."

Wan Li said that the creation of the advisory commission must await approval by the party congress. Election of delegates to the congress has recently been completed. He stated that members of the advisory commission will be "leaders of the older generation, as they are advancing in years and finding it hard to handle routine work." Deng Xiaoping is 77 years old this year. Even though the Chinese say that, after relinquishing China's supreme titular post in June last year, viz., chairman of the CPC Central Committee, he no longer handles routine business, he is still considered China's main leader. He has installed his intimates at key posts, with Hu Yaobang as the chairman of the Party Central Committee and Zhao Ziyang as the premier of the State Council.

Wan Li said that there will be some changes in the membership of the Politburo of the CPC Central Committee, but they cannot yet be predicted. He said that the CPC is trying to make the Central Committee members more youthful and to utilize the experiences of the leaders of the older generation.

Wan Li did not say when the party congress will be held. It is expected to be 3 or 4 months later. Reportedly the new draft party constitution has been completed. The political report for the congress is under preparation, and will reiterate the current policies and propose future tasks.

Wan Li said that Deng Xiaoping, when requested to serve as the chairman of the state, declared that he would not accept the post. Wan Li refused to reveal other candidates to the post.

In regard to China's insistence that America cease its sale of weapons to Taiwan, Wan Li said that, on this issue, "there is no room for compromise." However, he declared that the form and method of solution can be negotiated. The effective methods of solution will include a deadline for weapons transactions or U.S. promise of the gradual cessation of such transactions.

In regard to the resignation of U.S. Secretary of State Haig, Wan Li said: "Haig is one of China's old friends. We think that he probably ran into difficulties and had to resign." He made no comment on Haig's successor.

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## RESTRUCTURING OF BASIC LEVEL PARTY UNITS

Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 1 Jul 82 p 11

[Article by Yang Chia [2799 0857]: "Beijing Plans Total Restructuring of Basic Level Party Organizations--Purging the 'Three Types of Undesirables'"]

[Text] The vacillation of CPC's political situation and policies in recent years is connected with the influence of the vested interests of the Cultural Revolution. Many among those wielding power in the organs of the various levels were upstarts during the Cultural Revolution and, as the remnant ultra-leftwing poison in society has not been eradicated, the "leftwing" strength is naturally not negligible.

Recently, the Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee held a forum to discuss the restructuring of the basic level party organizations and notified all areas to make it a "crucial task."

### Adulterated, Weak and Slack Organization

On 27 June, JENMIN RIBAO published an article by a commentator on the restructuring. It stated that some of the basic level organizations of the CPC are "weak and slack, with a low fighting capacity" and that "some few basic level party organizations are in a state of paralysis or semi-paralysis."

Basic level organizations refer to party branches and party general branches, usually indicating the party organizations of production brigades and teams below the commune, small plants and enterprises. According to JENMIN RIBAO, there are over 2 million basic level party organizations.

The focus of the CPC's restructuring this time is these basic level organizations and the objectives of its purging are the "three types of undesirables," viz., those who followed Lin Biao and Jiang Qing and "rose by rebellion," those seriously influenced by the factional thinking of the Cultural Revolution, and those committing beating, smashing and looting and those resisting the resolutions of the Third Plenary Session.

#### Leftward Shift of Policies--an Opportunity to the Leftwing

Purging the "three types of undesirables" has long been the CPC's crucial plan to purify the organization, yet 1 year after its launching, the CPC still finds many basic level units "organizationally impure." It is thus clear that the resistance encountered by the Deng Xiaoping faction is considerable.

Many benefited in the 10 years of Cultural Revolution. Like Hong Kong's "big circles," the vested interests of the Cultural Revolution, having "taken root" in society and enjoying the support of a considerable portion of the "masses," are difficult to eradicate. Secret society-type "Cultural Revolutionaries" organizations involve large numbers of family members, relatives and friends. It is the worst headache for the Deng Xiaoping faction.

The Deng Xiaoping faction's "leftward shift" of certain policies, such as the suppression of "liberalism" and the exposure and criticism of intellectuals, provides the vested interests of the Cultural Revolution a breathing spell and an opportunity for reversal and enables those who have not discarded their "leftism" even though they were victimized in the Cultural Revolution to raise their heads again.

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STATEMENTS ON LITERATURE, ART BY MAO ZEDONG, CHEN YUN CRITICIZED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 7, 1982 pp 54-56

[Article by Huai Bing [2037 0393]: "A Critique of Mao Zedong's Letters and Chen Yun's Speech"]

[Text] On 23 May the CCP organ RENMIN RIBAO, in commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the publication of Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art," published the 15 letters Mao wrote to persons of the literary and art circles during a 10-year period between 1939 and 1949 (hereafter simply cited as "Letters"); it also published the full text of a speech of Chen Yun given in March 1943 entitled "The Question of Two Tendencies on the Part of the Party's Literary and Art Workers" (hereafter simply cited as "Tendencies"). At present, the chilly wind of opposition to bourgeois liberalization in mainland China is blowing stronger and stronger; as literary and art democracy and freedoms face a fate of destruction, what does the publication of the "Letters" and the "Tendencies" augur and what consequences might they lead to? This article shall explore the implications in this regard.

Is Mao a 'Good Teacher' and 'Beneficial Friend' of Literateurs and Artists?

If we acknowledge that "practice is the only criterion for testing truth," then the literary and art practice of the past 40 years, especially the recent 33 years, has fully proved that what "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" brought to China's literature and art, in the main, was nothing but devastation to the flowers of literature and art. Before the publication of the "Talks," there had appeared in China such masterful writers as Lu Xun, Mao Dun, Ba Jin, Lao She, and Cao Yu and a series of works that has stood the test of time; but after the publication of the "Talks," especially since the CCP's accession to power, there have appeared not only no works of the aforesaid kind but, under the restriction of the letters and the swinging of the bit stick of the "Talks," nearly all incentives for creation have come to be destroyed. From "Criticism of the Biography of Wu Xun," "Criticism of Hu Feng," and the "anti-Rightist struggle" up to the "Cultural Revolution," political persecutions of larger and larger scale, ranging from spiritual to physical, being hurled at the writers made Chinese Communist literature and art almost sink to a point beyond redemption, and these movements of literary and art criticism were all personally activated by Mao Zedong himself; they



stemmed from the "Talks" (the "Talks" was an important document in the 1942 rectification in Yenan, whereas the rectification itself was also a disciplinary movement, which indicates that the very first appearance of the "Talks" played the role of a stick and a whip) which developed into a more and more fierce instrument. Some say that the "Talks" "was subject to devastation by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their ilk during the "Cultural Revolution"; for instance, in order to resort to their plot to usurp the party and seize power, they completely deviated from the principles of the "Talks" and deviated from the principles of the "Talks" and deviated from life while indulging unrestrainedly in the so-called "theme priority," etc." (SHIDAI DI BAOGAO [REPORTS OF THE TIME] No 2, 1982, p 81). In reality, the so-called "theme priority" was by no means any creation of the "gang of four"; it was an inevitable product of such literary and art concepts as "literature and art must serve current politics," "political criteria first, artistic criteria second" embodied in the "Talks." Others such as the "three salient-presentation" principle of creation and the like could likewise usually find their theoretical basis in the "Talks." Hence, it was quite natural that Chinese Communist literateurs and artists took Mao as a devil from the bottom of their hearts; they took him as a flower (the flower of literature and art)-destroyer, and harbored very hateful feelings toward him. It was precisely against this kind of background that the CCP was made, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the publication of the "Talks," not to publish Mao's other statements on literature and art (which, apart from Huang Gang [7806 4854] and his ilk, few can bear to hear) but, instead to publish his 15 letters to the literateurs and artists.

These 15 letters are intended to mold an image of Mao Zedong as a good teacher and beneficial friend of the literateurs and artists and an attendant in the literary and art garden. Take his 2 August 1941 letter to Xiao Jun [5618 6511] for instance: Xiao Jun was criticized at the very beginning of the 1942 rectification in Yenan because of his publication of "There Are Dark Spots Even on the Sun" (written together with Lo Feng [5012 1496] and "On Comradely Love and Forebearance"; by the time the Northeast was liberated in 1948, he published many articles expressing dissatisfaction with the Soviet Union and the CCP in the WENHUA BAO [CULTURE DAILY] and he was therefore sent to the labor reform camp in 1949. During the subsequent period, except from 1951 to 1955, when he still enjoyed physical freedom, he was always taken as an object of struggle and lived a rather inhuman life. Who had brought such sufferings to him? It was precisely Mao Zedong, who was very narrow-minded and who could accommodate little criticism from others. But what was said in the letter? "There are many bad phenomena in Yenan; all that you said to me merits attention and should be corrected. But let me suggest that you at the same time pay attention to certain faults of your own and refrain from looking at problems from an absolutist point of view"; "you are a very frank and forthright person: I feel that I can carry on a conversation with you very well, and therefore I am making the above suggestion; if agreeable, I should like to chat with you once again." While hypocritically expressing agreement and welcome with respect to the other person's criticism and praising his frankness, he at the same time hurled a disciplinary movement against him behind his back; can this be an attitude embraced by an above-reproach statesman?!

Among the 15 letters the one that attracts my interest most is the 21 November 1944 letter to Guo Moruo; about this letter several points merit our attention: 1) This was a letter in response to one written to him by Guo; in Guo's own letter he probably highly praised Mao's accomplishments; hence Mao in his started right off at the beginning: "I have read your letter; your praise is rather excessive, and I hardly deserve it. But I should certainly study diligently in order to measure up to the wish of an old friend." 2) Expressing delight and admiration for Guo's scholastic accomplishments, he said that because he was busy with his work he had no time to read, and therefore admired Guo's accomplishments very much; he also told Guo that he had already turned the latter's "An Elegiacal Statement on the 300th Anniversary of 1944" into a document for the rectification. 3) He expressed hearty admiration for Guo: "Your historical discourses and dramas are beneficial to the Chinese people; there are too few, not too many, of them." Also: "We all would like to meet you personally; I wonder if we are going to have such a chance?"

The sentiments of admiration and approval expressed in the letter may well have been genuine, because Guo was really a master in the scholastic circles; while living in the Kuomintang-ruled area, he energetically supported the Chinese Communist cause so that he was beneficial, and did no harm, to the CCP. His was a case similar to that of overseas scholars living abroad who support the Chinese Communist cause; they are given attention greater than that given to domestic scholars. Yet, after the Chinese Communists founded their state, Guo somehow fell into the habit of a literary pariah saying yes all the time and doing things by watching Mao's facial expressions; as a romanticist, his internal pain is quite imaginable. His tragedy was one common to all literateurs and artists of the Mao Zedong era who had previously been all-powerful at a time. Therefore the effects of the publication of this letter are likely to be quite contrary to the wishes of the publishers because it makes it possible for people to see Mao's fickle character and the only relationship of the utilitarian kind between him and others--if advantageous to me [sic], [you] are welcome; once [your] utility is exhausted, [you] are sent away.

After reading his 15 letters and checking them against his behavior toward people of the literary and art circles during the past few decades, our general impression is that he was a person who monopolized all expressions good but did all things bad. Hence, with respect to him and his literary and art ideas we can only thoroughly criticize them and, after they are overthrown, seek to establish anew a fresh literary and art theoretical system which is capable of guiding practice and withstanding test through practice; this theory may of course also incorporate the reasonable parts of Mao's theory, because no matter how preposterous Mao's theory might be, it still has certain reasonable parts worth absorbing. But as a guiding theory and a theory which is used for years to carry out political persecution against writers, it must be terminated! And the sooner, the better. This is the wish of all literateurs and artists of the country.

Are Chinese Communist Literateurs and Artists 'Particular' and 'Arrogant'?

While the CCP published Mao's letters, it also published Chen Yun's speech; this was meant to let Mao play the role of an affable character and let Chen

Yun play the role of a stern character. Because Mao's image in the minds of the literateurs and artists has been really too ugly, it was necessary to remold it through these letters in order to let people get closer to it, whereas Chen Yun has been better in people's minds as, after the downfall of the "gang of four," he thoroughly exposed prevailing ills and daringly put forward programs for reforming the CCP's political institutions, and thereby became the leader of the "practice faction." His many statements voiced the heartfelt yearnings of hundreds and thousands of people, so he gained the support of the vast ranks of the masses. For instance, with respect to the criticism against "the tendency of bourgeois liberalization" this time, he held a different opinion. Said he: "The political movements the party has sponsored during the 30-odd years since liberation have been too numerous; the 'Cultural Revolution,' in particular, nearly caused our own downfall; the people loathe these meaningless political movements, and non-party masses have remained even more fearful. The leading comrades say that this criticism is not the equivalent of resorting to another political movement, but I can see that this criticism does have the prototype of a political movement. This is because the mass movement unfolded by the issuing of a directive by the central authorities is not a mass movement engendered from the grassroot level. Even though the leading comrades say that they wish to keep it under control, it may not, I am afraid, be subject to such subjectively desired control; I am worried that it might steer us out of step! Not to mention the fact that launching criticism against problematic works of the literary and art circles as a first resort has been a worn-out approach, a blind alley; we are likely to bump our heads against the wall." He also frankly pointed out: "Don't kill the intellectuals as if they are 'chicken'; ploys such as displaying problematic works like the 'Unrequited Love' as a way to oppose 'the tendency of bourgeois liberalization' really are aiming at the wrong targets" (document issued to cadres above the provincial and division level for discussion by the CCP Central Office on 20 September 1981). This shows how clear his thinking was. Now the purpose of the CCP in publishing his speech given at the party's literary and art workers meeting on 29 March 1943 can hardly be other than making use of his current prestige in order to carry out Mao Zedong's literary and art ideas so that the movement against 'the tendency of bourgeois liberalization' facing resistance by most people can be smoothly launched.

Chen Yun's speech fully supported Mao's "Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art"; it criticized the two tendencies of being "particular" and "arrogant" then prevailing among the literateurs and artists. The CCP Central Propaganda Department in a comment while publishing it said: "It is hoped that through study, through criticism and self-criticism, all the party's literary and art workers will be enabled to strengthen their party character, get rid of their devious tendencies. It is likewise our hope that all non-party literary and art workers would learn from the example of Lu Xun by training themselves into resolute fighters of communism."

Reading that speech carefully, we discover that this article published 40 years ago simply fails to provide any relevance to the current situation in the literary and art circles. First of all, the most important thing is that during the past few decades the CCP's continuous literary-political criticism

movements and the thorough spiritual and physical harassment of the literateurs and artists by the "Cultural Revolution" resulted only in the "self-respect" and "self-confidence" of writers suffering injuries that can hardly be healed in a short period of time; they might have felt "particular," but they were not in fact haughtily "particular." Instead, they were trampled down to the lowest level of "cultural work risk"--was there anything "riskier than cultural work" and more "particular" than incurring the calamity of death by one's casual words or opinions?

How can the CCP's cultural workers today be compared to those of the Yen'an period? In those days the Chinese Communists needed cultural personalities to do propaganda for them, to create public opinion for them; they hoped that more and more cultural personalities would come from the KMT-ruled areas to Yen'an to serve them, to act as their pens; hence they were always the CCP's "honored guests." But what is the situation today? The CCP has secured political power and is only afraid of losing it; hence it treats the literateurs and artists by the methods it usually uses on its "enemies." As a result, it has turned countless literateurs and artists into "detested prisoners." After the downfall of the "gang of four," only for the sake of breaking up the situation of 10,000 horses standing mute and with the continued encouragement of those in power have they ventured to utter some of their heartfelt words; yet they were at once subjected to criticism, alleged to a "particular" and "arrogant." Thus, the overwhelming majority again fell into line by becoming docile and obedient to everything the party said. How many have there been who could stand their ground by just argument as Wang Ruowang [3769 5387 2598] and Ye Wenfu [5509 2429 4395] did?

According to the principle dialectical materialism, everything revolves around time, place, and conditions; the CCP's leading stratum since Mao Zedong has always liked to publish some statements by so-called revolutionary teachers or leaders made several decades or even 100-odd years ago for the use of present-day personalities, in order to have present-day personalities abide by those statements, to reverse the trend of history; this is really an anti-scientific practice. For instance, when speaking of the question of obeying discipline, Chen Yun held that "concrete obeying of discipline means necessary obeying of the party branch, obeying of the direct superior level; even if the people of the superior level are weaker than you, you still must obey. Without achieving this degree of obedience, our party is liable to collapse." And the CCP Constitution explicitly provides that "the minority obeys the majority, the lower level obeys the higher level, and the whole party obeys the Central Committee"; hence, if a higher level violates the policies of the Central Committee, the lower level naturally does not need to obey it. What Chen Yun said can easily fall into the fallen track of the anti-Rightist campaign of 1957--"whoever opposes the higher level opposes the Central Committee." During the Yen'an period, it was wartime; it would seem easily understandable if discipline was made more severe. But today, it is an era of peaceful construction; in addition, the quality of the CCP cadres today leaves too much to be desired, and their democratic workstyle is still more limited. This dictum issued by Chen Yun really has the effect of restricting the lower levels in their demonstration of their enthusiasm; its influence is negative. Guiding action 40 years later with the expressions of 40 years

earlier can hardly have good results. A new situation needs the guidance of a new theory. CCP leaders should from now on do some more work in this regard!

#### Concluding Comments

Therefore, I am more ready to agree with what Chen Yun said last year: "The people loathe these meaningless political movements, and non-party masses have remained even more fearful." I think the movement to oppose "the tendency of bourgeois liberalization" should be immediately called to a halt; opposition to "particularization" and "arrogance" on the part of the literateurs and artists is shooting an arrow without a target, and is entirely superfluous.

An already fallen Mao Zedong's ideology on literature and art cannot be resurrected by human effort. The time in which the "Talks" can control literature and art has passed once and for all; it should be simply abandoned so that people can cast off its constraint and resort to free creation.

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## CADRE CORRUPTION SAID MORE SEVERE THAN 30 YEARS AGO

Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 28 Jun 82 p 19

[Dispatch from Shanghai: "Some Cases Extremely Involved and Very Hard To Investigate: Cadre Corruption Is More Severe Than 30 Years Ago; Those Inside and Outside Connive With Each Other, and Roots and Branches of Developments Are All Entangled"]

[Text] The Shanghai MINZHU YU FAZHI [DEMOCRACY AND THE LEGAL SYSTEM] magazine has published an article by its commentator to appraise cadre corruption and extortion and such economic crimes. It says: Viewed from certain shocking facts preliminarily revealed, this struggle has turned out to be more severe than the time of the "three-anti" and "five-anti" movements 30 years ago. Its characteristics are: 1) There are relatively more big cases and important cases. 2) There are relatively more party members and cadres involved, and even a small number of quite responsible cadres have become implicated. 3) In certain cases, not only people within and without the party, but even people within and without the country, have connived with each other. 4) The harm has been more penetrating; not only the economic aspect, but other aspects such as ideological, political, cultural and art, social morality and customs have all been subject to different degrees of influence and "pollution." 5) Some cases, because of their relatively more extensive involvement, have their roots and branches all entangled; the obstacles in the way of having them investigated are quite great. All this explains the severity of these economic criminal activities, their threat, and their danger; at the same time, it also explains the necessity, importance, and complexity of carrying out this struggle.

Preliminarily revealed problems also explain that this struggle is not isolated; it is connected to many aspects of our society. For instance, some economic criminals are interwoven with perpetrators of other illegal and criminal activities; they connive with each other, take advantage of each other, and shelter each other. Some criminals are no other than the remnant forces of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and disgruntled elements in the current society; there are also some who have to do with the deviation of our party workstyle and our social customs. Devious practices have provided cover for criminals, and criminals have taken advantage of devious practices. Meanwhile, it has been shown that our socialist system is still not healthy enough in many aspects, and our work still has many loopholes. For instance, our

legal system is not healthy enough, our rules and regulations are not comprehensive enough, ideological and political work on the part of some has not been strong enough, our organizational discipline has not been strict and clear enough, and our concept of the legal system has been too feeble. Even more serious are the corrosion of our ideology and degeneration of our moral concepts; these are far greater threats than those in the economic realm.

For this reason, in order to carry out through to the end our crackdown on the illegal and criminal activities in the economic realm and to achieve full victory, it is necessary to combine with the principle of "comprehensive handling." For instance, it is necessary to combine closely with the rectification of our party workstyle, rectification of our social order, strengthening of our education in the legal system and with the "five points of stress" and "four points of beauty" courtesy and civility movement in order to succeed in uniting attack with prevention, uniting punishment with salvation, and uniting destruction with construction.

Where do we begin with "comprehensive handling"? At present we should put emphasis on grasping the following points: First, struggle with various criminal elements by fully applying the weapon of our socialist law and our party's policies. Crack down on the minority, win over, divide, and transform the majority, in order to deter the enemies and punish crimes. Second, further strengthen our socialist legal system and necessary rules and regulations, and reinforce our legislative work, especially economic legislation. Third, continue to energetically rectify our party workstyle, strengthen our educational work in respect to our ideology, morality, legal system, and civilizations, with emphasis placed on party workstyle and the education of youths and children.

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